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ABSTRACT

A University of Alaska staff member, two local teachers, and two community members used on-site visits, observations, questionnaires, and interviews to assess development of the Manokotak school from its inception in 1947 to 1984 as perceived by community members, school staff, and students. Rural and cross-cultural, the Alaskan school served 117 pre-school through high school students in 1984 and provided basic academic programs and vocational training, a Yup'ik literacy program, and a variety of special and extracurricular programs. A Community School Committee played an active role in the school; the staff was experienced and relatively stable. The majority of community adults, high school students, teachers, and the principal thought the school was successful, although teachers perceived a wide range of unsolved problems involving educational and personal concerns not expressed by others. Written primarily for practicing educators in rural Alaska but with possible application elsewhere, chapters include a history of the village and school, educational histories of village adults, curriculum/activities descriptions, descriptions of students and school staff, and community/student/staff perceptions. The final chapter contains a summary and discussion of the continuity of educational experience between school and community, inadequacy of standardized achievement test scores, and possible future developments. (LFL)

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MANOKOTAK: A CASE STUDY OF RURAL SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT IN ALASKA

Barbara Harrison

with

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Marilyn Crace
Anecia Lomack
Mary Ann Mochin
Molly Pauk

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ALASKAN CROSS-CULTURAL CASE STUDIES

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A CASE STUDY OF RURAL SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT IN ALASKA

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THE ALASKAN CROSS-CULTURAL CASE STUDIES SERIES

The College of Human and Rural Development presents the series of cross-cultural case studies as a service to Alaskan educators and service providers. Alaska sits in an enviable position as the intersection point for 20th and 21st century cross-cultural contacts. Our historically and contemporarily important Native population is large, diverse, and a rich source of knowledge. Oriental, European, Black, Hispanic, and the many subcultural groups of the Lower 48 have come together with Native Alaskans to build this "great land." History teaches us that ethnic and religious diversity can produce great conflict, seemingly unresolvable wars, and endless confusion or, in contrast, a pluralism that stimulates mutual exchange and creates a gestalt that is greater than simply the sum of individual parts. The challenge, therefore, is to understand how cross-cultural settings can become such an opportunity.

Within the Alaskan context, the focal point of much cross-cultural contact is its institutions of government, health, and education. Embedded within communities they develop our potential. Several questions confront us concerning how such institutions mirror their communities, recognize diversity, expand human capacity and do their work well. Within the schooling community we need to know how such settings can become successful for their communities; how children and adults can achieve a literacy that empowers and frees them in order to create their own options. Given the universality of such questions, the Alaskan cross-cultural case studies series can inform future research, practice and theory well beyond its own geographic bounds. Indigenous people, developing nations, and our own diverse and pluralistic country can learn about how the cross-cultural situation works to shape institutions, communities and people. A more clearly differentiated picture will help us all to connect practice with reflection for the common good.

The case study format provides the methodological basis for the series. It provides a richness of information and a level of analysis that brings the various elements of a situation together and treats them as an integrated whole, rather than as independent parts. The indepth investigation of these complex settings, such as schools and programs and their interaction with communities, families, and other settings, allows us to understand the ways each impacts the other. By concentrating on such complex microcosms, we can discover ways to intervene or not intervene in others' lives that can improve the human condition. Through the Alaskan Cross-Cultural Case Studies Series, we will provide material for researchers, practitioners, and students who want to understand the diversity that we know as cross-cultural.

General Editor, Gerald Mohatt

Managing Editor, Lee Harris

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A large number of people contributed their time, cooperation, and knowledge to this study. It is impossible to thank them all by name here, but we want to acknowledge especially the exceptional cooperation which was offered by the Southwest Region School District, the Manokotak Community School Committee, the school personnel, and the many people in the community of Manokotak who agreed to interviews. We thank Lee Harris and E. Dean Coon for their careful editing, and Ray Barnhardt, Patrick J. Dubbs, and Gerald V. Mohatt of the University of Alaska-Fairbanks who reviewed drafts of this study and offered helpful comments. In addition, this study would not have been conducted without the financial support provided by the Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska/Fairbanks, and we are grateful for that support.

INTRODUCTION

Scope and Purpose

Like schools in other settings, Alaska's rural schools have been developing continuously since rural schools were first established by missionaries in the 18th and 19th centuries. Alaska became a territory of the United States in 1867, and Congress passed laws early in the twentieth century that established the "two school" system with locally operated schools for non-Native children and federally operated schools for Native children (Jacquot 1973). In 1959, the legal basis for this system was abolished when Alaska became a State and the federally-operated Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools have been gradually turned over to the State since then.

In 1976, Regional Education Attendance Areas (REAA) were created to operate schools throughout rural Alaska and more than 120 small high schools were established in villages around the State. When the REAAs and small high schools were established, educators and parents were confronted with major challenges in creating new, workable systems, appropriate to the diverse cultural settings of Alaska. Each REAA had to elect a board, select a superintendent and central office staff, hire principals and teachers for the new schools, form Community School Committees (CSCs), design curriculum, prepare teacher orientation and in-service programs, construct buildings, and select and purchase textbooks. Given the scope of the tasks to be accomplished, it is not surprising that reports of the early years of the operation of the new REAAs and small high schools included descriptions of some turmoil.

This case study of the Manokotak School focuses on the development of one school from the time of the establishment of the village in 1947 to the time of this study in 1984. In 1976, when the REAAs and small high schools were established, Manokotak and its school faced difficulties similar to those of other rural schools throughout the state. By 1984, however, parents and teachers in Manokotak believed they had a successful school even though they were aware of problems that remained to be solved. The school in Manokotak served children from the age of three through high school. The school provided not only basic academic and vocational training but also an extensive program in Yup'ik literacy and a fairly wide variety of special and extracurricular programs. The Community School Committee

played an active role in the management of the school and the staff of certificated teachers, aides, and support personnel was experienced and relatively stable. The Southwest Region School (SRS) District provided orientation and in-service programs for certificated staff and it had established an ongoing curriculum development process.

We had no way of knowing how representative Manokotak was of other rural Alaskan schools. In all probability, it was representative in some respects and unique in others. Certainly, it was not the only school in rural Alaska where development was occurring -- where the number of children served and the range of services had increased dramatically in recent years.

In this report, we have attempted to present a picture of the Manokotak School as perceived by the participants in that school. We describe the way community members, school staff members, and students viewed their school and its outcomes, and we describe the development of the school from its establishment to 1984. Only one outside investigator was involved in the team that collected and interpreted data on the school. All other team members were teachers or students in the school, and they all resided in the region at the time of this study.

This report is intended primarily for practicing educators in rural Alaska, although it may also be useful to practicing educators in other rural areas of the United States or in other cross-cultural settings as well. Our purpose has been to describe some of the successes and problems of one rural, cross-cultural school as perceived by participants in the school. We hope that these descriptions will be useful to others in similar settings.

Schools are functionally related to the communities they serve. Therefore, in beginning our description of the school in Manokotak, the first chapter is a description of the village, including a narrative history.

The second chapter describes the development of the school from 1947, when the village was established, to the time of this study. This chapter also includes an analysis of the educational histories of adults in the village.

The third chapter describes the curriculum of the school. However, we have defined "curriculum" to include not only the formal outline of the courses offered but also a description of all planned activities that occurred in the school.

The fourth chapter describes the school participants: the students, the principal, the certificated teachers, the instructional and other support staff. We have also attempted to describe the outcomes of the schooling process in terms of the lives led by its students when they reach adulthood.

The fifth chapter includes a description of community perceptions of the school in the spring of 1984 as well as a discussion of the staff members' perceptions of their school.

The final chapter contains a summary and discussion of some of the conclusions reached.

Method

This study is the result of a team effort. Many people -- in the village of Manokotak, in the school, and in the SRS District office -- helped to gather and interpret information. The study was initiated when one teacher in the Manokotak School wrote to a faculty member at the University of Alaska-Fairbanks suggesting that a case study be conducted. The University forwarded the suggestion to Peter Flisock, Superintendent of the Southwest Region School District, who discussed the suggestion with the Manokotak site administrator, Nathaniel Good, and the Chairman of the Manokotak Community School Committee, Tommy Evon. After agreement was reached, the University was invited to conduct the case study of the school. Funding from the Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska-Fairbanks was made available in January, 1984.

Barbara Harrison, Assistant Professor of Cross-Cultural Education, University of Alaska-Fairbanks, served as team leader and principal investigator. She made three site visits to the Manokotak School. The first visit was in January, 1984, for a period of ten days. The second visit was in March, 1984, for five days, and the final visit was in September, 1984, for four days. During the first two visits, she interviewed teachers, villagers, and central office personnel, observed classrooms, and identified one person in the District office, two teachers in the school, and two people in the village who agreed to training in methods for collecting further information.

Two teachers in the Manokotak School, Marilyn Crace and Anecia Lomack, helped to gather and interpret information. Patricia Billingsley, Speech/Language Specialist for the

SRS, visited the school on a regular basis and are provided information on the special education program in the District. Each of the three registered in a three-credit course during the spring semester, 1984, through the University of Alaska-Fairbanks and their research activities were integrated into their coursework. These three interviewed and distributed questionnaires to District personnel, other teachers, aides, students, and villagers. They kept daily journals of activities in the school and two of them videotaped their own classrooms.

Mary Ann Mochin and Molly Pauk served as research assistants on this study. Both of them were Yup'ik-speaking residents of the community. They were responsible for contacting as many adults as possible, 18 years of age or older, who were out of school (177 people). They invited adults to respond to interviews or questionnaires on a voluntary basis. Because Yup'ik is the primary language of the village, it was important that capable translators from the village were available for this work. They also translated for non-Yup'ik speakers who were collecting information.

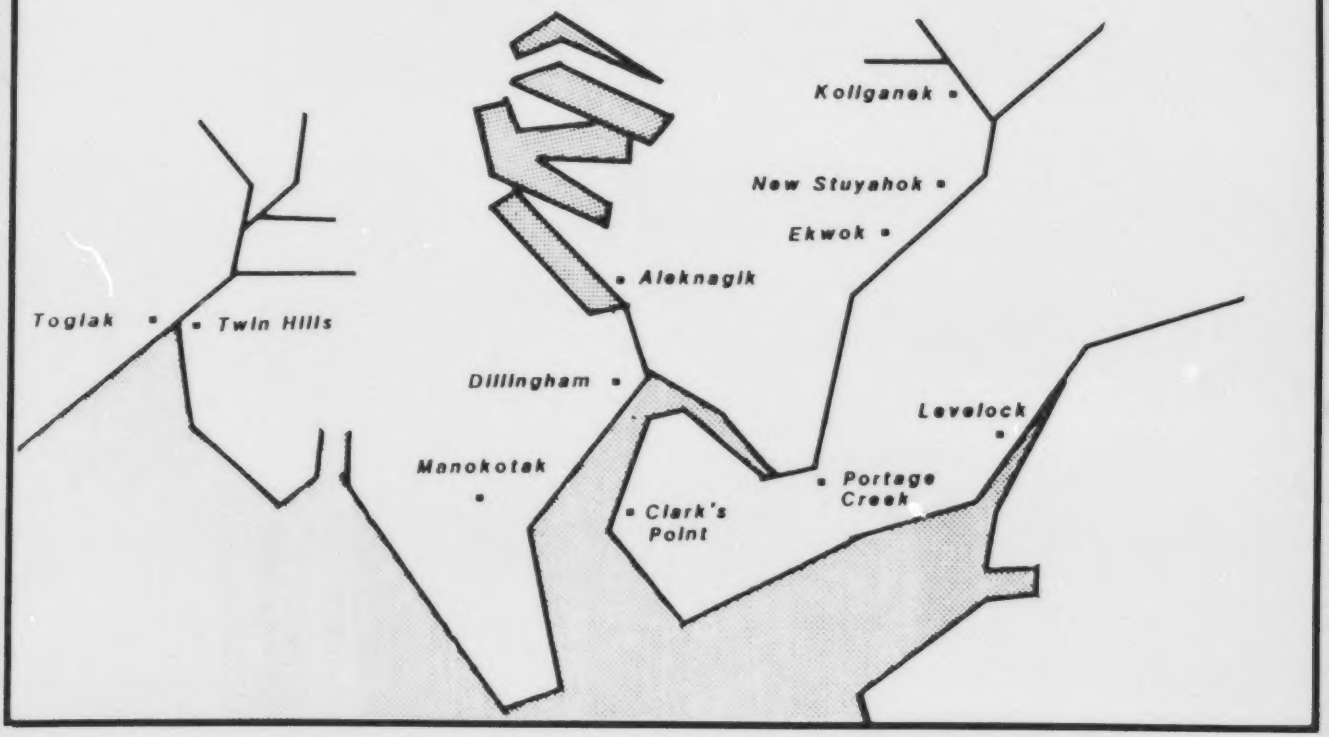
Community members were willing to share opinions and answer questions. One set of questions about perceptions of the school had 65 percent of the adults responding. Another survey, of a more personal nature on individuals' educational backgrounds, had 46 percent of the adults responding. In addition, nearly all employed adults in the village completed a questionnaire regarding traditional economic and community activities in addition to employment data.

Descriptive information on the school was collected during the 1977-78 school year as part of an earlier study of small high schools. This information was available from the Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska-Fairbanks, and it was used in comparing the school in 1977 with the school in 1984.

During the summer of 1984, Marilyn Crace and Barbara Harrison reviewed, analyzed, and interpreted the information collected over the course of the spring semester by all participants, and a draft of the final report was prepared. Copies of the draft were sent in August to Patricia Billingsley, Anecia Lomack, Mary Ann Mochin, and Molly Pauk as well as to the Superintendent, Principal, Chairman of the CSC, and to other teachers in the school.

In September, Barbara Harrison travelled to the region to review the draft with SRS personnel, school personnel, and people in the village. Revisions were made following this review before the final report was completed.

SOUTHWEST REGION SCHOOL DISTRICT



CHAPTER 1

THE VILLAGE

Location and Climate

Manokotak is located approximately 350 miles southwest of Anchorage. Jet airplane flights carry the traveller from Anchorage to Dillingham, the regional center of the Bristol Bay region of Alaska. Smaller, single-engine planes ordinarily carry the traveller the additional 25 miles from Dillingham to Manokotak although the village is also accessible by boat or snow machine during appropriate seasons of the year. The village nestled along the east bank of the Igushik River and the spectacular mountain scenery characteristic of the Bristol Bay region was visible in the background.

The climate has been described as follows:

> Manokotak is located in a climatic transition zone... The area is characterized by cloudy skies, mild temperatures, and moderately heavy precipitation...
>
> Average summer temperatures range from 40 degrees to 70 degrees F. Average winter temperatures range from 4 degrees to 30 degrees F...
>
> Fog and low clouds are the principal causes of reduced visibility... Heavy fog, when visibility is reduced to 100 feet, occurs approximately 10 to 15% of the time during July and August.
>
> Coastal areas such as the location of Manokotak are often subjected to periods of strong winds, and during storms the area can be especially turbulent as it is swept by high-velocity winds which can average 10 to 35 miles per hour... These winds can continue for days or weeks at a time, and winds of 60 to 70 mph are not uncommon, primarily occurring during May and June (Dowl Engineering 1982:1).

History

The history of the village of Manokotak that follows was prepared by Anecia Lomack, a lifelong resident of the village who served as a member of the research team and as a certificated, bilingual teacher in the school.

> Manokotak, Alaska, is located in the Bristol Bay area on the right bank of the Igushik River and on the lap of Manokotak Mountain. Air travel from Dillingham to our village takes only 15 minutes, making our village accessible to the entire world. Its village council has traveled to foreign countries for extended training in various areas. This enables the village to be very progressive.
>
> Manokotak has built upon the background of productive Alaska. The Bristol Bay area's growth has done much to ensure the success of Manokotak. This growth began in 1908 with the establishment of ten canneries in the Nushagak area which was coincidental to my mother's birth (Betusia Doyola Alakayak).
>
> This economic venture improved educational opportunities. My grandmother attended the first school built in Kulukak in 1911. She enjoyed this privilege for at least a year. Her marriage ended her modern education. Many people did similar things. The necessity of life and its duties took its toll. Larger tolls were taken by virus epidemics such as the major epidemic which took 50 percent of the Bristol Bay's population. My mother lost many of her relatives, including her brother.
>
> Some people lost other relatives and friends through drownings and shipwrecks when working for the fishing industries. My mom remembers stories about a big shipwreck in 1920 somewhere in the Aleutian chain. The boat must have been very large because many cases of food floated to Kulukak Bay. Among this food, they found flour, melted sugar, and canned food. They didn't touch the canned food thinking it was food for dogs.
>
> By 1920, people were becoming more familiar with the edibility of canned foods through the

establishment of the 25 Bristol Bay beach canneries and numerous floating canneries. Among these floating cannery crews was Evon Minista (the man who founded Manokotak). The fishing industries were becoming prosperous. In 1922, power boats were introduced and immediately prohibited. By 1923, the competition had increased so drastically that fish traps were prohibited and gill nets were to be used. It became increasingly difficult to earn incomes through just fishing if you were a Native. Often the job opportunities seemed very closed to the people that needed them the most. Nature also seemed to be against the Natives. Epidemics took many lives. In 1931, the whooping cough epidemic took many, many Eskimo children's lives.

As though this was not enough, the United States agencies began requiring more and more requirements -- such as the requirement to have more than one name. In the old days, people used to have one name or one of many names that they were named after a deceased person. In the 1930s and 40s, all paperwork required at least two names, a surname and an English first name. Many of the people's surnames were after their father's names like Alakayak, Kusegta, Itumulria, Gloko, and Toyukak. However, some people preferred to retain their birth names like Nanalook and Apalayak.

This brought about more and more aspiration among the Natives until 1937 when the Bristol Bay fishermen organized the Bering Sea Fishermen's Union to force the canneries to hire local residents. With this union many people began fishing in their own boats. Mr. Minista was among these. The continuing economic growth was highlighted by the sod house <u>maqis</u> (steam baths) built.

By 1942, the commercial fishing industry had become the major economic source. Evon Minista and many others were having to relocate during the winter months. He spent two winters at the end of Igushik River so that he could be nearer to his summer fishing grounds. At the end of 1947's fishing season, the effect of World War II was felt when he could buy only a ration of one drum of

gasoline. This wasn't enough to get to Togiak to re-establish his family's residence or to return to their winter home, so they began to search for a new winter home along the Igushik River. They decided upon the land that is now Manokotak. Manokotak suited this land because it is on the lap of the mountain. They managed to survive the long winter in this new place. The next fishing season ended with measles epidemics and in 1948, more people moved because Manokotak was closer to Kanakanek Hospital. They also found that there was sufficient amounts of wood near the village that would provide heat during the winter. They experienced an easier winter which contributed to their decision to settle permanently. That year, the Moravian Church was established in the new settlement. The Moravian Church is still a constant influence on their daily lives.

The World War II influence was still evident in the early 1950s. By 1953, the salmon run was slow. Many were unable to get enough meat and fish. They managed to survive the next few years. Slowly, the salmon began to return to the Bristol Bay area. By 1955, Manokotak had several individual electricity generators and one Bryant powerboat. Family stores began to spring up in several homes in the prosperous late 1950s. Another drawing factor was the establishment of the BIA elementary school in 1958. Many people came to Manokotak for many different reasons: easier winters, school, church, stores, near fishing grounds, and health services.

The health services were first offered by one of the teachers. In 1960, Manokotak obtained services from one of its local residents that had received health aide training in the lower 48 states. The 1960s also brought Manokotak's first sno-go and first village council. By having their own government begun, they discovered they needed some help, so through a federal government-sponsored program, a Vista volunteer came to help train the local people in running their village. This training brought organization to make Manokotak progressive. The 60s brought village electricity which changed their lifestyles.

No longer were they dependent upon flames for light. No longer did the sunlight dictate their activities.

The 1960s brought many changes which included the Alaska Human Rights Commission, the land freeze, food stamps, and Native corporations. These changes affected many people differently. Some were greatly aided. However, the Native Land Claims were not settled. The Native Associations became very influential through establishment of cooperative stores, airstrips, and mineral rights. The airstrip built in Manokotak during the summer of 1968 acted as a catalyst in continuing the education of Manokotak's first graduates. Air travel from Manokotak made it possible to establish a federal government post office. The increase in mail circulation and personal travel increased communications. Thereby, the oil discovery was known in Manokotak and many rumors and thoughts concerned the 1967 legislation on mineral rights. Everyone was contemplating a prosperous era. In 1969, Manokotak sprouted the first aluminum skiffs, television sets, and three wheelers. Prosperity was very visible. The anticipation of settled land claims and oil exploration bolstered the Manokotak economy. Many people began to concern themselves with maintaining their heritage so in 1970 the Kuskokwim area let the Yup'ik Eskimo dialect into their schools. A year later, Manokotak initiated a similar program.

Manokotak began developing better housing through a state program called Alaska Housing. Eighteen houses were built in 1970 and water and sewer were added, opening the housing for residents. By late 1971, all houses were occupied.

The end of 1971 brought settlement of Alaska Native Land Claims. This Act granted 40 million acres of land and nearly a billion dollars to the claimants. Alaska soon became flooded with lower 48ers seeking their fortune through pipeline service, facilities people, occupations, fishing, and possible marriages for profit. Manokotak, not unlike other

settlements, began establishing stricter controls on their village, school, and economic sources; their village council, community school committee, and native associations were used to protect their values.

From 1959 to 1973 Manokotak School was operated through BIA. Then, from 1973-75, it was operated by the Alaska State-Operated School System (ASOSS), and it changed its operational title to Southwest Area Schools.* I began working as a bilingual instructor here in Manokotak under the BIA instruction. Then, when it became an ASOSS school, everything was very chaotic. Everyone was new to the system, and few policies had been established. I am now working under Southwest Region School District which is much better than the ASOSS school in the Unorganized Borough. The village and I agree that the changes stimulated our students' quest for education.

Many people grew anxious for communication. In 1974, this anxiety brought graveled roads and CBs (citizen band radios). By 1975, the desire for communication brought Manokotak the village phone. Now parents could talk to their teenagers who were away. People could make reservations, order and clarify things through the telephone which was much faster than the mail. The increased use of the telephone brought more communication about the Molly Hootch case.

By law, every village was required to provide a village high school to any one (school age) requesting it. Construction on Manokotak's high school began. Many families enrolled their secondary students in Dillingham City Schools, so that the students could return home at the end of the construction period and be present at the opening of the new high

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*Another source indicates that the school transferred from BIA to SOS in 1967 (Barnhardt 1985).

school. The high school opened its doors to the high school students in February of 1978. In a very short time, students began returning to the village. The village was unprepared for the full-time requirements of a teenage population. The CSC and school district began organizing community activities like JOM (Johnson O'Malley Program), Indian Ed, and recreational nights. The curfew hours were now strictly observed even more (curfew has continued since the 1960s). However, the introduction of video machines (videocasette recorders) in 1980 lessened the probability for rest at night. Many parents had to set limits on the TV viewing so students could function in school. The latest innovation is a 24-hour satellite TV. To me, satellite TV is a deterrent of values, responsibilities, and education. I'm finding that people are beginning to worry. Maybe soon, they'll find guidelines for their children.

Language, Traditional Values, and Economy

At the time this study was conducted, the population of Manokotak was approximately 300, nearly all of whom were Yup'ik-speaking Eskimos. The only non-Native residents of the village were the teachers, the administrator of the local school and their families. The predominant language used in the village was Yup'ik. Many of the elders spoke only Yup'ik, although younger people who had been to school were bilingual in Yup'ik and English.

The people of Manokotak had acquired much in the way of Western technology and tradition but Yup'ik values still had an important place in the life of the community. The extended family continued as the most important social institution in the community. Young people deferred to their elders, and adult children lived with and cared for their elderly parents and grandparents. Cash income belonged to the family rather than to individuals and traditional foods were shared throughout the family and throughout the community. In the Yup'ik tradition, sharing and cooperation were more important than the achievement of the individual.

Many residents trapped fox, beaver, mink, otter, lynx, wolverine and muskrat for furs either for sale or for use in making traditional Yup'ik clothing and the village relied on

marine products and inland resources for traditional foods. Although people preferred their traditional foods -- such as dried fish with seal oil and akutaq (sometimes called "Eskimo ice cream") -- to Western foods purchased in a store, they also depended on traditional foods from the land as important aspects of their economy. Villagers continued to take an active part in obtaining and preparing traditional foods through hunting, fishing, and gathering from the land.

At the same time, residents of the community were active participants in a cash economy. Almost everyone in Manokotak participated in commercial fishing as well as in traditional economic activities such as hunting, fishing and gathering from the land. A survey of the village taken in the spring of 1984 indicated that 40 individuals held drift net permits and 43 individuals held set net permits. In 1981, the average gross income (per permitholder) from salmon fishing was estimated at $14,467 (Payne and Braund 1983:164).

> About 95% of the village residents leave Manokotak during the fishing season, and most of them fish near the mouth of the Igushik River in Nushagak Bay, where they have a summer fish camp called Igushik... Usually the women and children handle the set nets and the men operate the drift gill nets. The 2- or 3-person boat crews are primarily family members... Some also participate in the herring fishery (Dowl Engineering 1982:2).

In addition, handmade items were made for sale to outsiders. Many individuals also held full-time or part-time jobs with the city, the village corporation, the health clinic, the State of Alaska, the postal service, the store, Southwest Region Schools, or with one of the local air taxi services. In the spring of 1984, 61 individuals (including the certificated teachers and principal) were employed full-time, part-time, or in temporary positions. Of these 61 job holders, most reported that they also participated in both traditional economic activities and commercial fishing. Forty-six said that they participated in commercial fishing in addition to their employment, and 50 said they participated in traditional economic activities. The majority also reported that they held one or more elected positions in the community and/or positions of responsibility in the church. Most of those employed who did not fish commercially or seek food from traditional economic activities were the non-Native school personnel who spent their summers outside of the region.

Religion

The Moravian Church was the only church in the community and nearly all community members belonged and participated in regular church activities. Services were held several evenings each week and on Sundays and many people in the community travelled to regional church-sponsored gatherings during the winter. The church was an important influence in determining what behavior was or was not acceptable in the community.

In many Alaskan communities, Western churches were introduced by non-Native English speaking missionaries, but the Moravian Church, early in its operations in Alaska, had translated the Bible and hymnals into Yup'ik, and church services were conducted in Yup'ik. In Manokotak, the first missionary was a Yup'ik missionary, William Beaver, who had been trained in the Kuskokwim region of the state. In many respects, the church and its Yup'ik-speaking pastor and his wife helped to reinforce the Yup'ik language and values in the community of Manokotak. Individuals from the local community governed the local church as members of the church's Board of Elders and, when the government school was introduced in 1958, members of the church Board of Elders assumed active roles in the management of the "traditional council" and the school.

Western Technology

Although many Yup'ik traditions continued in the village, housing and many conveniences were Western. Houses were of wood frame construction with oil or wood heat. Each house had running water, sewer service, and electricity. (People still preferred their wood-heated steam baths, called "steams" or "maqis," to a hot shower, however.) The village received both cable television and the state-operated television network, and mail was delivered by plane from Dillingham daily except on Sunday. Nearly every family owned motorized means of transportation -- small planes, trucks, snow machines (sno-gos), three-wheelers, and/or boats -- and there was a "washerteria" for village-wide use.

There was only one telephone, located in the "co-op" store, but villagers were hopeful that the Dillingham-based telephone company would soon install phones in individuals homes. In the meantime, most homes, the school, clinic, and store used CB radios for communication within the village

and VHF and single-sideband radios to communicate beyond the village boundaries.

It should be noted that Western technology does not always operate in a village as one might expect it to in an urban setting. Power outages were frequent, for example, and the one telephone was often out of order. Mail deliveries were often delayed because of bad weather, and, for the same reason, travel to and from the village was unreliable.

The Future

The population of the village has been steadily expanding since its establishment in 1947. Construction of new housing was planned in the near future. New housing was to be located approximately five miles from the present village site and a road was to be constructed to connect the present site with the new one. There were also plans for the establishment of an air taxi service in Manokotak to be operated by local villagers.

However, the long-term economic future of the community was of concern to nearly everyone, villagers and school personnel alike. The federal government had begun to lease off-shore sites to oil companies for exploration and the future of commercial salmon fishing sometimes seemed in doubt.

The Bristol Bay Native Corporation (the regional corporation with headquarters in Dillingham) conducted studies in the 1970s to try to determine kinds of regional development that might be undertaken to assure adequate income for residents in the future without destroying the environment that supports the traditional lifestyle of the region. Although reindeer herding, logging, tourism, arts and crafts marketing, and truck farming were suggested (Bristol Bay Native Association 1976), the most realistic possibilities seemed to be related to preservation and expansion of existing income from commercial fishing. If the salmon, herring, and other bottomfish are properly managed, there was every reason to believe that the industry would continue to provide adequate opportunities to produce income for residents of Manokotak in the foreseeable future.

CHAPTER 2

EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

History of the School

This chapter describes the development of the Manokotak School from 1947 to 1984. We have also included a description of the educational backgrounds of adult villagers in 1984. The historical and social context provided here is intended to help the reader interpret the descriptive information on the school which appears in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

Soon after her arrival in Manokotak in 1948, Julia Beaver, the wife of the first Yup'ik lay pastor, began teaching school in addition to her activities as the pastor's wife. Not all the children in the community attended school in the beginning but most of the younger children did. Many of the children who did attend were, in 1984, adult residents of the community. They remembered attending school in the church building and reading "Dick and Jane" storybooks. Mrs. Beaver used English most of the time but she explained concepts in Yup'ik when the children did not understand them in English. Children used both English and Yup'ik in school. When children misbehaved, they sat in the corner or were spoken to by the lay pastor.

In the mid-1950s, the villagers decided that they wanted to have a BIA school located in Manokotak. A "traditional" village council was established at that time because the federal government required that such a council be formed to officially accept the government school. Members of the church Board of Elders agreed to serve as the traditional council under the terms of the Indian Reorganization Act. As a result, a close working relationship between the church and the school was established. The working relationship between school and church continued into the 1980s. Some elected positions on the Community School Committee were held by members of the church Board of Elders, and the principal coordinated extracurricular school activities so that they did not conflict with the church.

The school that opened in 1958 was a two-room, two-teacher elementary school. It also contained an office, a clinic, a kitchen, and a storeroom. Mr. and Mrs. Nelson Page, who had previously taught in other regions of the state, were the first BIA teachers. They were also the first non-Natives to live in the community and they and their children remained the only non-Natives throughout their residence in

Manokotak. They and their two sons returned to the village each school year for eight years.

Adults in the village in 1984 remembered learning math, English, reading, science, social studies, and art from Mr. and Mrs. Page. Although children were supposed to use only English in school, they were not punished for using Yup'ik. They were expected to sit quietly and to ask permission to leave the room if they wished to do so. Students who misbehaved wrote sentences or stood in the corner or sat facing the wall. If children did not do well in school, their families sometimes moved to other communities to find educational situations suitable to their children.

Apparently, however, most children were successful in completing the eighth grade and continuing on to high school graduation, even though they had to travel to boarding schools to attend high school. Before the establishment of the BIA school in Manokotak, almost no one attended school. After the school was established, nearly everyone who was under 14 years of age at the time eventually completed high school. (For a complete description of the educational histories of adults in Manokotak, see pp. 20 - 21 of this report.)

In 1967, the school transferred from the BIA to the Alaska State-Operated School System (Barnhardt 1985), and three small classrooms were added. The most recent addition to the elementary school was built in 1972. This addition contained two large rooms with a folding door between them so that it could be opened to make one large room. It also included a two-bedroom teacher's apartment.

In 1971, the bilingual program was introduced into the school. This new program represented a major change in policy. In earlier years in other regions of the state, the policy on language use in the school was a policy of English use only and children were sometimes punished for the use of their native language. The bilingual program, however, was based on the assumption that children would learn English best if it were introduced gradually in conjunction with instruction in the native language. For the first time since the BIA school opened in 1958, local Yup'ik-speaking residents of the community would serve in classrooms as teachers and children would learn in both their native language and in English.

In the mid-1970s, the school began to serve students in the 9th and 10th grades. In 1976, the State-Operated School System was reorganized into Regional Education Attendance Areas (REAAs), and the school in Manokotak joined the SRS

District. During the 1978-79 school year, the school expanded to serve the 11th grade; and, during the 1979-80 school year, the 12th grade was added. The new high school building was opened in 1980.

Postsecondary education began in the region in the early 1970s through the Alaska Rural Teacher Training Corps (ARTTC). In the latter half of the 1970s, ARTTC became the Cross-Cultural Education Development Program (X-CED), and additional postsecondary course offerings became available through the Rural Education Center in Dillingham.

The SRS District began to provide financial support for the X-CED program and X-CED students who were employees of the District in 1978. The District provided funds for University personnel to work in the program in the region and travel funds to support student meetings and instruction. The University waived tuition and fees for students who were employees of the District, but the District funded books and other supplies for employees who were students in the program. Students who were employees of the District received release time for their studies. In addition, aides who completed coursework became eligible for recommendation to the State Department of Education for approval as "recognized experts" and were advanced on the certified salary scale. Those who received the "recognized expert" classification were provided with team teaching situations which gave them greater responsibility in the classroom.

SRS support and coordination with University of Alaska programs made it possible for individuals who lived and worked in Manokotak to complete B.Ed. degrees and to receive Type A certification. Graduates were not always able to begin immediate employment as certificated teachers in the school, however, because openings were not always available at the time of the employee's graduation.

In the spring of 1984, the elementary school building contained five classrooms, the principal's office, the secretary's office, a kitchen, one room serving a variety of functions, the small school store, and one apartment for teachers. The high school contained a small gym and dressing rooms, two classrooms, a shop, a library, a resource room, a computer lab with six microcomputers, and storage areas. The two schools were connected by a covered walkway. Music classes were held in a small separate building, converted for that purpose from storage buildings. All facilities were in constant use during the school day and many were used for evening activities as well.

Housing, owned by SRS and rented to teachers, had also expanded and improved in recent years. In 1978, teacher housing in Manokotak was described as follows:

> One couple lives in a house built with school funds on school land, and most of the labor was provided by the couple who now live in it. This house is modern and well constructed, though it is not as large as a few of the villagers' homes. Another couple lives in a modern apartment in the newest part of the school building. Another couple and two single men are crowded into a school trailer, which is ten years old, and in poor condtion. The principal and his family live in the original BIA teacherage, which was built in 1959, and is in need of remodeling. Two more teachers live in an A.S.H.A. house, which they rent from a villager who has moved to Dillingham. Finally one certified teacher and two bilingual teachers live in their own homes in Manokotak (Bacon 1978a:6).

A duplex, containing 2 two-bedroom housing units, had since been constructed, and a two-bedroom house had been purchased by the school district from the village corporation. A small unit which once housed a generator had been converted into a dwelling for a single teacher. One certified teacher and all but one of the bilingual instructors and aides lived in their own homes in the village. The available housing accommodated the staff during 1983-84 fairly comfortably.

Educational Histories of Adults in Manokotak

Before the BIA school was established in Manokotak in 1958, people had little or no opportunity to attend school. Apparently, once the school had been established in 1958, all children went to school and most of them continued on to high school graduation even though no high school was located in the community until 1980. Those who attended high school in earlier years had to travel to boarding schools in Dillingham or in other areas of the state, or even to the "lower 48." Surveys, one taken in 1978 and one taken in 1984, indicate, however, that virtually everyone who was under the age of 14 in 1958 when the government school was established did complete the eighth grade and then attended a boarding high school until graduation. Apparently, parents in the village have always encouraged their youngsters to seek knowledge.

In 1978, it was reported that:

> Only four residents under the age of thirty have never received a high school diploma or G.E.D. Three of these four are women who married while still in their early teens, and quit school to assume the role of wives and mothers... I would be very surprised if I found that this rate of school success was common to most Alaskan villages. It is one more indication of Manokotak's eagerness to incorporate 'outside' values into their culture and lifestyle (Bacon 1978a:12).

Similar conclusions were reached based upon the survey conducted in the spring of 1984. For the survey on educational background, 81 people responded (46 percent of the adult population). In this total of 81, there were 55 people ages 18 - 39 and 26 people 40 years or older.

Of the 55 adults under the age of 40 who responded to this survey, nearly all had completed at least a high school education by receiving a diploma or by passing the G.E.D. A few had even attended postsecondary programs leading to Associate of Arts or Bachelor's degrees. Only six women and two men under 40 had not completed high school.

Individuals who were 40 years old or older at the time of this study were over 14 years of age when the school was established in 1958. Although some of these older people had the opportunity to attend school in the Moravian Church before the BIA school was established, most had no real opportunity for schooling. Many individuals, when answering these questions, stated that they had not gone to school because there was no school. Others stated that they "learned" when the missionary first came.

It was the older women who had attended Adult Basic Education which was offered evenings at the school each year. These women were very proud of this education and enjoyably struggled and chuckled while learning during the classes. The older men generally did not seem to see this form of education as something they wished to attend. Many were too busy or they saw it as "a woman's activity." One recent instructor stated that it had become something similar to the "koffee klatch" of Western culture.

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CHAPTER 3

CURRICULUM

In this chapter, the curriculum of the Manokotak School is described. We have attempted to describe all planned activities occurring within the school at the time of this study as well as the process used within the SRS District to develop curriculum plans for specific content areas.

The Curriculum Development Process

In 1979, the SRS District began to formalize procedures for developing curriculum plans for content areas for use in schools throughout the District. The District Curriculum Committee and all teachers were involved to different degrees throughout each school year in writing and revising these guides. These guides served several purposes:

1) New teachers used them to find out what should be taught and to locate proper textbooks.

2) All teachers used them as guides to be sure the necessary material was covered in the course of the school year.

3) Semester examinations were to be based on curriculum as stated in guides. The exams were submitted to the principal's office and also to Central Office and copies of the tests were kept on file.

4) Completed guides were used as a basic outline before new equipment or texts were ordered each year.

As stated in the spring of 1982 by the District, the Curriculum Renewal Plans (CRPs) were scheduled for continuous review and renewal with total revision planned at the end of a five-year development cycle. The renewal process for curriculum used by the District entailed the following steps:

1) Community assessment -- setting goals and expectations by the public served by the schools.

2) A description of current school programs.

3) Development and revision of district curricula to accommodate expectations of the community and profesional staff.

4) Evaluation -- gathering, processing and interpreting information to help make decisions affecting the curriculum and learning programs for students.

5) Revision of curriculum based on the foregoing steps in the District curriculum renewal process.

The curriculum development process could include revisions of the curriculum submitted by teachers, parents, students, or administrators, but in all cases proposed revisions were to be directed to the Assistant Superintendent through the Director of Instruction. The Assistant Superintendent was responsible for keeping the Superintendent informed regarding all curricular matters and advising the Superintendent of action requiring Superintendent or Board deliberation.

The District Curriculum Committee was appointed prior to fall inservice each year. The committee consisted of:

Assistant Superintendent of Schools
Curriculum Coordinator
Two Board members
Two CSC members
One parent representative
One student representative
One principal
Four teachers
One bilingual coordinator
Ex-officio members

Committee members were appointed by the Superintendent upon the recommendation of the Assistant Superintendent in such manner that a continuity of experienced committee members was included with new members. The committee met at least three or four times each year, the first meeting following the fall inservice. It had these reponsibilities:

1) Meet at least three or four times a year to consider official committee business.

2) Advise the Superintendent and administration on matters affecting District curriculum policy and procedure.

3) Monitor and make recommendations concerning the overall Curriculum Renewal Plan to include:

   a) Revision of curricular expectations

   b) Instructional testing and evaluation relating to curricular expectations.

   c) Consideration of additions and deletions to the curriculum.

   d) Teacher inservice training.

   e) Selection/adoption of instructional material.

4) Prepare annual report concerning the state of the educational program including recommendations and evaluations.

The Curriculum Coordinator was responsible for arranging Curriculum Committee meetings and for preparing the agenda and procedure for conducting committee business.

The District Curriculum Committee formed whatever subcommittees were necessary to complete their assignments with recommendations referred to the District Curriculum Committee for appropriate action.

As of May, 1984, curriculum plans had been completed in the following areas:

Elementary:
- Career education
- Health
- Language arts
- Math
- Music, general, vocal, and instrumental
- Physical education
- Science
- Social studies

High school:
- Art
- Biology
- Bookkeeping
- Commercial fishing, technology of
- Commercial fishing, marketing and management of
- Construction and maintenance
- Drafting I

Finance, personal
Food management production and services
General metals
Graphic arts
Health
Horticulture
Introduction to computers
Introduction to industrial arts
Journalism I and II
Language arts
Photography I and II
Physical education I
Science, general
Science, life
Secretarial office practice
Sled construction
Small engines
Student aide program
Typing I and II
Welding, arc
Welding, oxyacetylene
Woods
Yup'ik literacy

Curriculum guides were partially completed in early childhood education and art at the elementary level and in 20 content areas at the high school level.

One great advantage of these curriculum guides was in defining the material to be covered with resources available so that all areas in a given subject were given adequate attention. The uniformity of the curriculum within the District allowed a student moving from one village to another within the same District to proceed with the material being taught in his/her new school.

Within the Manokotak School itself, in the four years just prior to the time of this study, school personnel were also revising planned procedures and activities. The following changes were made during that time period:

1) More emphasis was to be placed on grades and homework in each class and upon student responsibility. Teacher-supervised study halls were provided at night to help students complete assignments.

2) Stricter grade requirements to play sports had been instituted.

3) Teacher innovation was encouraged only within the realm of the required texts and materials. Subjects to be taught and material to cover were established by the District.

4) The counselor was to discuss standardized test scores and weak areas with students and teachers so that weaknesses could be strengthened and improved.

5) Time spent away on school trips was carefully calculated and all work was to be made up in a certain length of time. Teachers and parents signed permission slips for all trips. On extended trips, assignments were signed off by the teachers upon completion of the assignments.

6) Senior (12th) grade trips have been cancelled due to time away from school and lack of funds.

Classes Offered in the Manokotak School

Elementary Curriculum

The elementary curriculum included the minimum amount of time for each subject area:

	Grades 1-3	Grades 4-8
Language Arts	1-1/2 hours	1-1/2 hours daily
Math	45 minutes	45 minutes daily
Art	30 minutes	30 minutes 2 days/week
Health	30 minutes	45 minutes 2 day/week
Music	30 minutes	30 minutes 3 days/week
P.E.	30 minutes	45 minutes 3 days/week
Science	30 minutes	45 minutes 2 days/week
Social Studies	30 minutes	45 minutes 3 days/week
Yup'ik	30 minutes	30 minutes 3 days/week

Student day excluding recess, breaks, and lunch:

Grades 1 - 3	4.5 hours
Grades 4 - 6	5.0 hours
Grades 7 - 12	5.5 hours

Secondary Curriculum

Classes for high school credit were at least 50 minutes in length. The high school requirements for graduation were:

English	4	credits
Health	.5	credit
Math	2	credits
P.E.	2	credits
Social Studies	3	credits
Science	2	credits
Electives	7.5	credits
Total	21	credits

Classes offered in the Manokotak high school for the spring 1984 semester are shown on the chart on the following page. Some classes changed each semester. For example, in the fall of 1983, geometry was taught in place of personal finance, government was offered in place of Native issues, health was taught in place of 8th grade science, chemistry was offered in place of life science, a class on foods and nutrition was offered rather than sewing, and classes in small engine repair and drafting were offered.

Classes Offered in the Manokotak High School
Spring 1984
By Time Period and Teacher

Teacher	Period 1	2	3	4	5	6
Marilyn	Eng IV	Eng III	Typing I, II	Journalism	Preparation	Sm. Bus. Mgmt
Doug	U.S. Hist.	Native Issues	P.E. II	Elem. P.E.	Preparation	P.E.
Dick	Elem. Music	Gen. Math	Preparation	Pers. Fin. Algebra	Vocal Music	Inst. Music
Carolyn	8th grade Science	Preparation	Biology Life Science	General Science	Eng I, II	Sewing
Cher	Counseling Library	Counseling Library	Counseling Library Career class	Counseling Library	Graphic Arts	Counseling Library
John	Preparation	Intro. to Indus. Arts	Alaska Hist./ Geography	Oxy and Arc Welding	Cust. Serv. & Bldg. Mgmt.	Work Exp. 8th gr. Shop
Anecia	Yup'ik literacy	6th, 7th, and 8th grades----------				
Blaine	6th, 7th, and 8th grades----------					Computer program

Summary of Population and Staffing of the Manokotak School

Village population:	approximately	300
Adults:		177
Student enrollment:		117
preschool	13	
kindergarten	8	
grades 1 - 8	55	
grades 9 - 12	41	

Principal: Nathaniel Good

Certificated teachers and aides:

Names	Primary teaching assignment
*Mary Alexie	Preschool/kindergarten
Renae Porter	First and second
*Ferdinand Sharp	Third, fourth, fifth
Blaine Ackley	Sixth, seventh, eighth
*Anecia Lomack	Sixth, seventh, eighth
John Bryan	High school
Marilyn Crace	High school
Doug Porter	High school
Dick Wallace	Music
Carolyn Williams	Science
Cher Good	Counseling/library
Judy Bryan	Resource room teacher
*Nancy Sharp	Special education aide
*Anecia Ayojiak	Instructional aide
*Anna Etuckmelra	Instructional aide
*Grace Gamechuk	Instructional aide
*Vera Gloko	Instructional aide
*Dinah Itumulria	Instructional aide
*Anecia Toyukak	Instructional aide
Indian Ed/JOM Coordinator:	*Mike Minista
Maintenance:	*Moses John *Willie Paul
Cooks:	*Nellie Paul *Nellie Gamechuk

* indicates Yup'ik speaker.

Special Programs

Bilingual Education and Yup'ik Literacy

In April, 1984, the State Department of Education declared that the bilingual program in the Manokotak School was exemplary. The State sent visitors to the school to observe the program and to report on its "promising practices." The following description has been taken from the report prepared by Marge Hermans of the "promising practices" review team.

> The Manokotak bilingual program reaches children from pre-school through ninth grade. Pre-school and kindergarten teacher Mary Alexie and her aide Anna Etuckmelra teach youngsters primarily in Yup'ik, introducing English at this stage.
>
> First and second graders study half the day in English with teacher Renae Porter and half in Yup'ik with aide Anecia Toyukak. Sometimes, both languages are used...
>
> Yup'ik instructional aide Grace Gamechuck also works with these students half-time...
>
> In fourth and fifth grades, Yup'ik-speaking teacher Ferdinand Sharp teaches primarily in English, but he and bilingual aide Vera Gloko frequently use Yup'ik to help explain concepts students have difficulty following in English.
>
> In sixth, seventh and eighth grades, teacher Blaine Ackley and Yup'ik speaker Anecia Lomack, a certified recognized expert, team teach mostly in English.
>
> "If students don't understand a concept or some directions in English, I can explain it in Yup'ik," Lomack says. "Also, because I'm from the village, I can understand and encourage them when they need it. I can talk with a student's mother, too, if he is having problems or needs to do more homework."
>
> By ninth grade virtually all instruction takes place in English. But students also take a

> Yup'ik literacy course that emphasizes reading and writing their native language...
>
> Curriculum materials for the Manokotak bilingual program come from a growing number of sources. Some have been developed at the school and through Southwest Region School District's bilingual program, directed by district coordinator Esther Ilutsik. Some are borrowed from or shared with Lower Kuskokwim School District, which has an active program in Yup'ik studies.
>
> Other sources are Kuskokwim Community College, the University of Alaska's Alaska Native Language Center in Fairbanks and materials gathered by students from village elders and other residents (Hermans 1984:12).

In the same publication, a more detailed description of the way the bilingual program worked in one classroom, the room of the first and second graders, is given. The description was provided by the teacher, Renae L. Porter:

> We have eight first graders and 10 second graders in our class. In the mornings I teach second grade English language, reading, spelling and math. At the same time, in the same room, our Yup'ik instructional aide Anecia Toyukak teaches the first graders math, Yup'ik reading and social studies.
>
> In the afternoon, we switch grade levels. I teach the first graders reading, English language and spelling while Anecia teaches the second graders the Yup'ik curriculum she has planned.
>
> The last hour of each day, Anecia and I team teach health, art, physical education, science and social studies (Porter 1984:13).

In bilingual programs in some schools, the instruction in the native language is confined to set time periods for the younger age groups only. In the bilingual program in the Manokotak School, however, the use of and instruction in both English and Yup'ik were thoroughly integrated throughout the school day for children in pre-school through the eighth grade. Sample observations in all elementary and middle school classrooms (6th, 7th, and 8th grades) were conducted by another observer who reported that the Yup'ik

certificated teachers and bilingual aides in those classrooms all used both Yup'ik and English for instruction. In the first and second grade classroom, for example, the bilingual aide who gave English spelling lessons explained the spelling lesson in Yup'ik even though the students were learning English spelling. During the sample observation, this aide used primarily Yup'ik for instruction with an occasional English word or sentence inserted. In that classroom, the certificated teacher was monolingual in English and used English only.

In the third, fourth and fifth grades, the Yup'ik certificated teacher used primarily English for instruction in the sample observations while providing occasional explanations in Yup'ik for students who had difficulty in comprehending the lesson. Aides who worked in the same classroom used primarily Yup'ik for instruction. In the middle school, the Yup'ik certificated teacher used both languages for instruction during the sample observations. The other certificated teacher in the middle school was monolingual in English and used English only.

For the bilingual teachers and aides, the degree of use of either language may have depended upon the particular instructor's philosophy of teaching. In other words, a bilingual instructor seemed to use one language or the other depending upon his or her judgment of which language would accomplish the particular instructor's goals in the particular lesson.

Children also used both languages in the classrooms. Sometimes, they followed the teacher's lead. If the teacher spoke in English, the students responded in English. However, if a student wished to ask a bilingual teacher a private question, the question was likely to be whispered to the teacher in Yup'ik. In the classroom, when children spoke among themselves, the conversation could be in either Yup'ik or English. Outside the classroom, in the hallways, lunchroom, or play areas, conversation between students was predominantly in Yup'ik.

Instruction in reading and writing emphasized reading and writing in English at all grade levels although shorter time periods of instruction in reading and writing in Yup'ik were provided through the 9th grade.

It was possible for the school to accomplish this integration of both Yup'ik and English in a comprehensive bilingual program because of the number of Yup'ik-speaking certificated teachers and aides who worked in the elementary school.

Travel Programs

Postsecondary vocational training trip to Fairbanks.

Besides all the "book learning," activities outside of classrooms are a very important part of a student's school life. In villages many of these events involve travel from the village so that students are exposed to the "wider world." Students from Manokotak participated in District-wide programs of the SRS District. These travel programs included the following: a third grade trip, eighth grade trip, college orientation trip, Rural Schools Vocational Program (RSVP), "Career Week" (in Dillingham), and all sports travel. The third grade and eighth grade trips were year-end trips. The third grade trip took students to Dillingham to learn about community services and the purposes of different businesses. The eighth grade trip was to Anchorage and Juneau where the students visited State government offices, the Governor, and their area representatives. They had the opportunity to see and understand government by firsthand experience.

Two trips for orientation to college and postsecondary vocational training were conducted, one to Anchorage and one to Fairbanks. Not all students participated, but each student who did participate chose either the Anchorage or Fairbanks trip. They were not able to go on both trips. In Anchorage, students visited the community college,

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University of Alaska-Anchorage, and they drove to visit the Seward Skill Center. The trip to Fairbanks was to visit Tanana Valley Community College and University of Alaska-Fairbanks. The purpose of these trips was to stimulate interest in postsecondary education, to clarify what college was really like, to give students a realistic look at college classes and requirements, while stressing good study habits. High school seniors and some juniors made the trips.

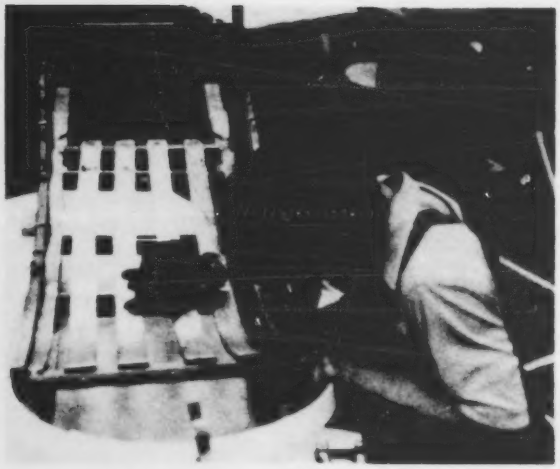
RSVP and "Career Week" in Dillingham were both career-oriented trips. "Career Week" was for junior high and high school students. For a week, these students worked on actual jobs packing grocery store shelves or answering the phone at the hospital. "Career Week" allowed the students to gain experience and knowledge necessary for selecting future jobs. RSVP was a similar trip to Anchorage. However, on this trip, students also stayed with an Anchorage family when they were not working. Both their working world and home life were in cultural settings different from their home setting during this experience. The students were learning about careers, different lifestyles, and their ability to adapt to new situations.

The sports trips were by far the most popular in the school. These trips were for the purpose of competitive sports within the District. Although these trips were on weekends, the planes often had to leave early (noon) on Fridays because of impending bad weather or the number of miles they needed to travel before dark (in winter). When it was time for students to return, weather at times did not cooperate, and half or a full day of class time might be lost on Mondays.

Indian Education and Johnson O'Malley Programs

Two federally-funded programs that ran concurrently with the formal curriculum were the Indian Education Program (Indian Ed) and the Johnson O'Malley Program (JOM). The Indian Ed program conducted Yup'ik cultural activities for students after school in the spring of each school year. These activities included skinsewing, basketry, carpentry, and sledbuilding. The JOM Program included a hunting/survival trip for all 8th - 12th graders. In the early years of the program, these hunting trips were four days and only boys went while girls did home cleaning, baby care activities, Native crafts and food preparation. Since 1981, girls have been included on the hunting trips.

Learning traditional ways through Indian Education.



Special Education

The following information on the special education program in the Manokotak School was provided by Patricia Billingsley, Speech and Language Specialist for the Southwest Region School District.

Personnel employed in the Special Education (SPED) Program at SRS District included a Coordinator (Federal Programs Coordinator), a School Psychologist (1/2 time), a Speech and Language Specialist (full time), Resource Teachers in eight of the ten sites, and aides in the three largest schools. Manokotak had a total of thirteen students enrolled in the SPED program, four of whom have a speech/language component in their proposed individualized educational program (IEP).

Historically, one of the main thrusts of the SPED program was to gain more psychological and speech/language services by employing on-staff personnel rather than contracting for services with other agencies in the area. One of the most recent goals (accomplished in 1982) was the elimination of itinerant resource teachers and placement of a resource teacher at each site requiring those services.

The SPED program at Manokotak followed procedures stipulated for all ten schools in the SRS District. Initial referral usually came from the classroom teacher (or possibly the principal) or, in the case of speech, language and/or

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hearing disorders, the Speech and Language (S/L) Specialist who had conducted a screening in those areas.

The referring person filled out an initial identification and referral form. These forms probed the academic and/or behavior problems evidenced by the child being referred, the conditions under which the problems existed, the methods which had been tried to solve the problems, the child's strengths, and any special communication or physical problems which existed. The student's cumulative records were scanned to tap the history of standardized test performance and other scholastic information, current service information (such as whether the child is currently enrolled in a special program) and a review of his/her physical history such as past or current medical problems. The forms were then referred to appropriate personnel -- the SPED Resource Teacher at Manokotak, the School Psychologist and/or the Speech/Language Specialist -- for diagnostic evaluation.

Prior to requesting an evaluation by the Child Study Team, a Parental Notice and Consent Form was sent to parents. This notice explains that the child had been referred for formal assessment in order to better plan the most appropriate educational program based on the child's needs and asks for the parents' permission to do so. Specific tests to be administered were stated. They also received an explanation of procedural Safeguards and Due Process which explained the parents' rights according to federal and state rules and regulations. The intent was to keep the parent fully informed concerning decisions about their child and to inform them of their rights if they disagreed with any of those decisions. They explained that the parents had the right to:

1) review all school records,
2) review evaluation tests and procedures,
3) refuse to permit evaluation tests and procedures or change ir their child's educational placement,
4) be informed of the results of evaluations,
5) obtain an independent evaluation,
6) request an impartial due process hearing,
7) give consent or deny access to their child's educational records, and
8) request the destruction of this information.

The SPED teacher then sent the completed forms to the SPED Coordinator who reviewed the referral and contacted appropriate personnel for conducting diagnostic evaluations.

The Child Study Team was multidisciplinary, involving the SPED Coordinator, Resource Teacher, School Psychologist, Speech/Language Specialist, medical personnel, physical or occupational therapists and any other personnel deemed pertinent to the child's well-being. Areas to be assessed might include communication, intellectual, physical, behavioral, achievement capabilities and/or others such as creativity for gifted/talented referrals. Vision and hearing acuity were assessed.

The date and time of the Child Study Team Staffing was then established. Parents were notified of the meeting using a form called Parent Notification of IEP Meeting and Prior Notice which stated that the educational assessment of their child had been completed and the school personnel wanted to share those results and develop educational objectives with the parents. Parental input for ultimate decisions was requested. It was explained that as a result of this meeting their child's educational placement might change but that no change would be effected without their permission. The parents' rights were again reviewed. This notification was signed by a SPED team member, usually the Resource Room Teacher who would most likely be the one to provide the child's intervention program.

An Eligibility Report was then completed by the appropriate person -- usually the SPED Teacher -- which explained that as a result of assessment, the child was/was not eligible to receive special education and, if eligible, under what category.

During the Child Study Team (CST) meeting (staffing), the Eligibility Report and suggested IEPs were reviewed and/or corrected. Necessary signatures were obtained and, if eligible, the child was placed in the Special Education Program.

If the parent was unable to attend the CST meeting, as sometimes happened in the villages, a notice was to be sent to them explaining that the meeting took place and a decision was made for changing the child's educational program. Before the proposed program could be implemented, however, the parents had to provide signature of approval. In actuality, rather than sending the notice, one of the school personnel (usually the SPED Teacher who was often familiar with the village parents) hand carried the notices to their homes and invited them personally and/or reviewed assessment results and the suggested IEP, and got their signatures. Many times an interpreter was used during home visits and staffings.

Following placement, the SPED Teacher and/or Aide implemented the proposed program. For those students receiving Speech/Language Intervention the SPED Teacher/Aide were supervised by the itinerant Speech/Language Specialist.

Once a year the Annual Review was completed by the SPED Teacher for which the level of performance was evaluated (which goals had been met, which needed further work, etc.). The Annual Review also included development of a new IEP for the following school year. A CST Staffing was again held to summarize the annual review. Parents were again notified and invited to this meeting.

Every three years a diagnostic reassessment of the student was to be completed. This reassessment could be more frequent if conditions warranted or if parent or teacher requested. Parents were involved with the CST Staffing which reviewed the results of this Three-Year Reevaluation.

Validity of language assessment in Manokotak had been questionable since it was difficult to ascertain whether apparent delays were true deviations in language skills or whether they merely reflected differences caused by English as the second language. Cultural differences were considered as much as possible. An attempt to alleviate this question had been initiated in that language 'trends' in Manokotak and other SRS villages had been tapped by the administration of selected language subtests to all first, third, and fifth graders. Complete results had not yet been compiled at the time of this study, but it was hoped that this project could continue until the entire District population had been probed for language trends unique to this area.

Small Business Management Store

In 1982, one of the high school teachers, Marilyn Crace, applied for and received a grant of $1,300 from the State so that the Manokotak School could open a school store to be operated by students in its Small Business Management class. A small section of the "lounge" in the school was partitioned off to provide a place for the new store. When the store first opened, concern was expressed by the manager of the "co-op" store in the village about possible competition from the school store. As a result, the school store confined its wares to school-related supplies not otherwise available in the community.

The store was open for half an hour before school started, during the noon hour, and after school. Students served as cashiers, ordered stocks, advertised within the school, and

maintained and analyzed financial records for the store. In its first two years of operation, the store made a profit such that there were plans for its expansion. Some of the profits were used to help pay for student travel to a business conference in Anchorage during the spring of 1984.

Microcomputers

One microcomputer was located in the classroom of the sixth, seventh, and eighth graders, and six microcomputers were set up in a small classroom adjacent to the library in the high school. Youngsters in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades came to school early to play computer games before school started and individual students in that classroom were given short assignments at the computer throughout the school day.

Blaine Ackley, one of the middle school team teachers who had training in the use of microcomputers prior to his arrival in Manokotak, provided a class for high school students in computer science. High school journalism students also used the computers to produce the school newspaper, Lynx Echoes, and for senior level term papers in English classes.

Adult Basic Education

Although funding for instructors of adult basic education (ABE) was provided through the Rural Education Center of the University of Alaska in Dillingham, classrooms and other resources of the Manokotak School were provided by the school. Two ABE classes were taught by certificated teachers of the school. Judy Bryan, resource room teacher in the Manokotak School, offered an introductory course in computer science to adults, using the six microcomputers in the classroom adjacent to the library. Mrs. Bryan had obtained the necessary training in computer science during summer sessions in another state. Twenty-two adults in the community initially registered for the course.

The second ABE class was taught by Nancy Sharp, a Yup'ik-speaking certificated instructor who served as the special education aide in the Manokotak School. This class was English as a Second Language and basic mathematics for those residents of the village who had had little or no schooling in their background since no school existed in the community when they were young.

Lynx Echoes

The journalism classes, taught by Marilyn Crace, produced the school newspaper, Lynx Echoes, on a monthly basis. Students conducted interviews and did library research, wrote stories, illustrated stories with their own artwork or selected illustrations from other sources, produced the stories on microcomputers, did the layouts, and sold the newspaper for $.25 per copy in their school store after distributing one free copy to each residence in the village.

Library

Cher Good served as part-time librarian, part-time counselor, and graphic arts teacher. She had established a library program both for students in the school and for members of the community. The library was open for members of the community three evenings a week so that they could select and check-out books. Classes of school children visited the library on a regular basis to receive instruction in the use of the library and its card catalog as well as for other activities such as story reading. Children were encouraged to check books out for recreational reading at home.

Counseling

Cher Good also provided career and academic counseling for high school students. She met with individual students to review their standardized test scores and to explain the meaning of the scores. She helped students to complete financial aid and postsecondary admissions applications and provided them with information on alternative programs available in postsecondary education. She also prepared displays for the bulletin boards in the main hallway of the school showing information on postsecondary options.

Study Hall

The science laboratory was open several evenings a week and a certificated teacher, Carolyn Williams, was in attendance both to supervise students and to help answer questions. Sometimes teachers assigned students time in the study hall but most students attended voluntarily. In Manokotak, as in many other Alaskan villages, some students lacked a quiet place to work at home and the study hall was set up to provide students with the opportunity to study away from television sets and conversation of other family members. Attendance at the study hall varied but there were often six or eight children present, and the study hall was sometimes

used by adult students taking college courses in the village.

Music

Dick Wallace taught classes for elementary and high school students in vocal and instrumental music. The school band also performed for special events such as the Christmas program and the Music Festival held in Dillingham during the spring semester for all school bands in the District.

Book Fair

The Book Fair has been held each school year since 1980 by Marilyn Crace and in 1983-84 by Marilyn Crace and Renae Porter. The Book Cache in Anchorage selected and supplied an assortment of books based upon the population of the community and the number of students in the school. The Book Fair was advertised in the community by CB announcements and posters in the store and Post Office. Books were placed on display in the school for two weeks for purchase by students and/or residents of the community. Each classroom kept a record of the books purchased by students in the classroom and an ice cream party was given to the classroom with the highest number of purchases. Money from sales and unsold books were returned to the Book Cache after the Book Fair and 20 percent of the profits of all sales went to one of the student activity funds.

Yearbook

Yearbooks were produced occasionally prior to 1982. In 1982-83, the yearbook was produced as an extracurricular activity. In 1983-84, the graphic arts class, taught by Cher Good, produced the yearbook.

Extracurricular Athletics and Other Activities

In addition to the team athletic activities, students participated in pep club, cheerleading, student council, and the senior high school class raised funds to buy school rings for its members. Teachers invested many hours in extracurricular activities on a voluntary basis. Doug Porter coached the boys' basketball and volleyball teams, Blaine Ackley coached the girls' teams, Ferdinand Sharp coached boys' wrestling, and Renae Porter advised the cheerleaders and pep club and served as chaperone to the girls' teams when they travelled for competition. Cher Good advised the student council. Several teachers advised the freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior classes in their fund-raising activities. Each class sold soft drinks or

food at athletic and other school-related events, and they devised other money-making activities throughout the school year.

Teachers also invested time in the bulletin boards in the hallways. Elementary teachers changed the boards frequently and displayed the students' work there. Marilyn Crace and Cher Good were responsible for the high school displays, and teachers shared ideas for displays throughout the school.

Informal School/Community Interaction

"Visiting" is not, of course, a part of the formal school program. But in Manokotak as in other villages around Alaska, the informal contacts between the villagers (both young and old) and the teachers affected interactions within the school. The Yup'ik teachers all had many relatives within the community and they were regular participants in community activities on a year-round basis. These teachers had known many of the children in their classrooms since the children were born.

Children and adults visited non-Native teachers and the principal in their homes after school and in the evenings. Teachers who had children of their own hosted gatherings for their children and their children's friends from the community. One teacher, Renae Porter, held "slumber parties" for the cheerleaders where they made foods to sell at a bake sale, and other teachers considered adopting this innovation.

There was no hotel in the village so teachers and villagers both provided housing for school district and other visitors to the village when necessary. Teachers and villagers cooperated in supervising the JOM trapping expeditions for several days each year in the open country and they also shared airplanes going to and from Dillingham in order to keep the costs for travel as low as possible.

Some teachers experienced difficulty in adjusting to the constant interaction with children and adults during evenings and weekends. In an urban setting, teachers can leave their students and their students' parents when they leave school at the end of the day. In a village setting, interaction with students and parents occurs at all times of the day and night. A teacher who is accustomed to the relative privacy of the urban setting may experience a sense of "living in a glass house" in the village. However, informal, out-of-school interaction between village children and teachers can establish positive personal relationships and patterns of communication which carry over into the classroom.

Class of 1984:

Class of 1996—Kindergarten class of 1984:

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CHAPTER 4

STUDENTS AND STAFF

The Students

In School

During the 1983-84 school year, 13 children were enrolled in preschool; 8 were enrolled in kindergarten; 55 were enrolled in grades one through eight; and 41 were enrolled in high school. The total number of students enrolled was 117. Virtually all children in the community started school with Yup'ik as their first language and with little English language experience.

During the 1982-83 and 1983-84 school years, the average number of students absent each day was four or 3.4 percent. An average of four students each year (3.4 percent) dropped out. In earlier years, students who dropped out often worked toward and completed the GED. Those who have dropped out more recently may eventually complete the GED, too.

Five high school students who were residents of other villages in the region had moved to Manokotak specifically to attend high school there. These students lived with relatives or in foster homes as part of the SRS District boarding home program.

A brief questionnaire was distributed to high school students during one class period in the spring of 1984, and 24 of the 41 high school students responded to it on a voluntary basis. In response to the question, "Do you think that your school is successful?," 20 students responded "yes." Two said "yes and no," and two students weren't sure.

All those who responded said that high school was important. In general, students who responded believed that high school should prepare them for employment after high school or for college. Nearly all those who responded felt that it was important to have a high school in their community. While only one student expressed the opinion that it would be better to attend a larger school in a larger community such as Anchorage because a larger school offered a wider range of courses, some students wished for a wider range of courses in their local high school.

The responses from these students during the 1984 spring semester were more positive than those received in response

to a school district questionnaire during the 1982-83 school year. In 1982-83, 22 students rated their school, and 14 rated it "average," while 8 rated it "poor." It may be that students viewed the school more favorably in 1984, but, since neither survey represented a systematic sampling of student opinions, that conclusion may be unwarranted. We can conclude that in 1984 more than half the high school student body voluntarily rated their school as "successful."

Typically, high school students were involved in a wide range of school-related activities: sports, Indian Ed classes, the school store, newspaper, choir, band, student council, fund-raising, and/or yearbook. Students spent many hours in school participating in these activities in addition to their classroom time. They helped at home, hunted, fished, trapped, participated in church activities, and read for recreation or watched television. They fished commercially or worked in canneries during the summer.

The school's average standardized achievement test scores, while comparable to the scores in other rural schools, were lower than the average scores of urban schools. Some students, of course, scored above the national average on the tests.

After High School

Most students who graduated from high school in Manokotak remained in the village after graduation. Four or five young adults had moved away from the village in the five years prior to this study, but they had moved to other communities in the Bristol Bay region either to marry or for employment. Young women who remained in the community helped their parents to keep house or care for younger children and young men hunted, fished, and trapped. Both groups fished commercially during the summer season. They sought part-time or full-time employment in the village. They participated in church activities. Some took college courses in the village through the X-CED program or the University of Alaska Extension Center. After a few years they married and began families.

Five recent graduates of the high school were attending postsecondary training at the time of this study, and 8 of the 1[illegible] graduating seniors of 1984 were registered for postsecondary training to begin in the fall. In addition, 18 adult villagers were identified who had completed some type of postsecondary training following their graduation from high school. They had attended college or had completed vocational training in areas such as secretarial

training, pilot training, carpentry, plumbing, electrical training, and janitorial services.

Of the six individuals who had graduated from college prior to the time of this study, four had participated in the Alaska Rural Teacher Training Corps or the Cross-Cultural Education Development Program (X-CED) of the University of Alaska-Fairbanks. These programs were designed for students to complete Bachelor's degrees while living and working in the village. Four of the college graduates were teachers in the local elementary school.

Teachers in Manokotak expressed concern for young people in their first year or two after high school. They felt there should be more options for young people within the community both in terms of youth recreational organizations and in terms of postsecondary training. During the spring of 1984, the village council was in the process of establishing a recreation center for young people in the community.

Some teachers were concerned about the possibility of an increasing use of alcohol and drugs among young people in the community, but, at the time of this study, no evidence was available to either verify or refute the teachers' concern in this regard. Their concern may reflect the concern throughout the United States with respect to increasing substance abuse among young people. One suicide had occurred in the two years prior to this study, and two suicides occurred in the fall of 1984 after this study had been completed. There were other deaths due to accidents, but there were no other incidences of serious violence.

In general, most graduates of the Manokotak High School moved into stable adult patterns which were viewed as appropriate by other members of their community. If commercial salmon and herring fishing continue to provide cash income for the community and if oil and mineral development do not cause major disruption of the environment, there is no reason to expect any major change in this pattern in the foreseeable future.

The Staff

Selection Procedures for Certificated Staff

The selection process for new principals or teachers began in the central office of SRS in Dillingham. After vacancies in the District were determined, recruiting announcements were sent to universities throughout the United States. The Assistant Superintendent also worked with the Career Planning and Placement Office at the University of Alaska-Fairbanks, where applicants were screened and recommendations on particular applicants were made to the District Office. Representatives of the District also attended the Job Fair held each spring in Anchorage. The District Office received between 400 and 500 completed applications for teaching positions each year.

The Assistant Superintendent worked closely with the Community School Committee of the village in selecting either new principals or teachers. In the case of a new principal in one of the larger villages, candidates were flown to the community to interview with the Community School Committee and to have the opportunity to see the school and community before they decided to accept the position. In the case of new teachers, the Assistant Superintendent reviewed applications with the principal and members of the Community School Committee. The District had developed check lists for use in interviewing references and for use in interviewing prospective teachers or principals. These lists were used to assure consistency in the questions that were asked by the interviewer.

Nancy Wightman Billingsley, Assistant Superintendent of SRS, described the selection criteria for teachers as follows:

> We look for evidence of successful experience in the bush. We don't look for teachers at the beginning level in order to save money. We look for experience and Master's degrees. We want the best teachers we can find. We look for flexibility so far as being able to handle more than one subject and willingness to participate in extracurricular activities... We always look at grades (on transcripts), and we always call references.
>
> For principals, the recruitment is not any different, but the announcement is more

> specific. We go through the same process, really. We have had times when principals are interviewed by a group of three or four.

During the 1983-84 school year, the Community School Committee in Manokotak recommended to the District that, whenever possible, residents of the local region be hired to staff the Manokotak School.

The Principal

In the "Handbook for Evaluation of Certificated Personnel," Southwest Region School District, September 1980, the principal's role was defined (pp. 26-27). The principal was responsible for educational leadership and supervision including:

- Development of unit goals
- Organization of instruction
- Staff selection
- Staff evaluation
- Providing opportunity for professional growth of staff
- Utilization of non-teaching staff
- Utilization of instructional support personnel
- Development and administration of unit budget
- Record maintenance
- Student attendance and decorum
- Administration of student activities
- Contributions to teaching/learning climate.

In addition, the principal was responsible for developing positive attitudes and harmonious relationships:

> As instructional leader of the unit program, the principal is responsible for maintaining a positive attitude throughout the school and community and improving the instructional program at the unit level. It is extremely important to maintain an instructional program that develops harmonious relationships and the highest possible level of instruction (Southwest Region School District 1980:27).

The Handbook lists other professional expectations including:

- Community and public relations
- Safety
- Plant operation and management
- Self-evaluation
- Performance under adverse conditions
- Bicultural awareness and implementation.

During the 1977-78 school year, one observer made the following statement regarding the history of principals in the school:

> The turnover of principals has been very high in Manokotak also. There have been four different principals in the last four years. It is curious that none of the three who departed...ever worked as a principal after leaving Manokotak (Bacon 1978b:3).

During the 1981-82 school year, two different individuals held the position of principal, and the Assistant Superintendent served for a time as acting principal. The principal at the time of this study, Nathaniel Good, began his tenure in August, 1982. He held a Bachelor's degree from the University of Montana and a Master's in public school administration from the University of Alaska-Fairbanks. He began teaching in 1967, and he came to Manokotak after eleven years in Cordova, Alaska. His most recent position there was Assistant to the Superintendent.

Nat's wife served as the school counselor and librarian. They had one son in elementary school in Manokotak and two older children who were away at college. Nat said that he was interested in his present position because he wanted something completely different and because he saw the challenge in the rural situation. When he came to Manokotak to interview, he "sensed pride and continuity here" that he hadn't seen in other places.

Nat Good described the principal's role as follows:

> You have got everything from the houses teachers live in to the condition of the building and supplies and heat. You are responsible for everything and everybody. If there is friction in the staff or with the central office or in the community, you are responsible. It is nothing at all like being principal of a city school... You have to decide you are a facilitator of instruction. You need to do anything and everything there is to help teachers to teach... You always have to maintain a good working relationship with everybody everywhere, but that doesn't mean you bend with every breeze that comes along.

He also described his own philosophy of working with the school staff:

> I have to communicate reasons for doing things so we don't have wars within the camp. If there is friction in the staff, we bring it up at a staff meeting and sort it out as a group. If you don't, it can get worse. Some things, I don't bring up, though. I talk to individuals and avoid conflict or humiliation in front of the group. You have to have a concern for the other person. There haven't been any incidences of friction that haven't resolved.

His approach to the Community School Committee was similar to his philosophy of working with the school staff:

> I am certain to give them all possible information so they don't misinterpret. I have given the chairman responsibility and put him in situations where he has to take charge... I get the CSC involved in just about everything. I really believe in them... They serve as my advisory group. When it comes to spending money, we go into great detail... They approve travel plans and the school calendar. I asked them for approval of a basketball game that conflicted with a church rally... They recommended all present teaching staff be offered contracts for next year. They approved the beaver trapping expedition and the men's basketball tournament. I do treat them as a regular board.

In describing his relationship with the central office, Nat said simply that he was the "man in the middle," interpreting the policies of the District to the local school and community and interpreting the local school and community to the District office.

In a written statement to the central office in January, 1984, Nat described efforts to address twin objectives of "time-on-task" and standardized test score improvement. In later discussion, he emphasized the importance of improving test scores, but he also described the limitations of those scores:

> Achievement tests tell us what they don't know. Comparisons are only useful to the extent that we are trying to bring them to be like students elsewhere. To the extent that other people use them in comparisons with other areas of the state, it is not relevant because we are a bilingual/bicultural school... I think we are successful but only within our own terms.

In informal discussion, he described what he saw as the broader goals of the school in Manokotak. "We have the task of making their future life feasible," he said, and expressed concern for "kids caught in transition."

> We have the task of maintaining -- I'm not going to use the word culture -- that is transferred through the home. The only thing we can maintain is language. If we do that, we have maintained a part of the culture. We try to use the language to help us teach these students. Students need to go to town with parents because parents can't do math and can't read. We had better have done a good job of the basics because they are helping to make important decisions for the family. I think that we are succeeding because the community believes in what we are doing. We have the community trying to do the things that we ask -- listening to what we have to say... Are we doing everything right? I don't think you can do everything right... The school is a part of a community. If they see something as a need, we had better provide it if we can.

Nat and his family returned to Manokotak for the 1984-85 school year.

The Certificated Teachers

Of the thirteen full-time certificated teachers, two served in the Resource Room (one was classified as an aide), and one served as librarian and counselor. The other ten were elmentary and/or secondary classroom teachers. One classroom teacher was certificated as a "recognized expert," but she received her B.Ed. degree and Type A certification in May, 1984. A summary of primary teaching assignments is given on p. 30 of this report.

Background of the Teachers

In general, the educational level of the teachers was high. Four held Master's degrees, seven held Bachelor's and had taken additional credits beyond the Bachelor's, one had a Bachelor's only, and one received her Bachelor's degree in May, 1984.

Six of the certificated teachers had special training for teaching in rural Alaska through University of Alaska programs. One was a graduate of the Alaska Rural Teaching Training Corps (ARTTC), another completed her student teaching in the Cross-Cultural Education Development Program (X-CED), two were graduates of that same program, and two had been participants in the Cross-Cultural Orientation Program (X-COP) during the summer session of that program or through field-delivered courses.

The majority of the teachers had two or more years of teaching experience before they began teaching in Manokotak. Three had no experience or experience as substitute teachers only. Two had several years of experience as bilingual teachers or aides before they were certificated, and the other eight teachers had from two to fifteen years experience prior to their experience in Manokotak.

Nearly half, six out of the thirteen certificated staff, had experience in Alaska prior to teaching in Manokotak. Those with Alaskan experience included the four Yup'ik-speaking teachers, all of whom were native to the Bristol Bay Region. Three were born and raised in Manokotak itself. The Native teachers served as liasion between the non-Native school personnel and the community in addition to their teaching duties. They helped to socialize new teachers into the setting and they helped villagers understand the new teachers.

In general, the certificated staff tended to remain in Manokotak for substantial periods of time. Four teachers

planned to leave Manokotak at the end of the 1983-84 school year for positions elsewhere. All four gave personal reasons for making the change. For example, one teacher's wife had been unable to obtain employment in the village and they wanted to move to a location where both could be employed. All four said they enjoyed working with children in Manokotak. The following table displays the number of years each teacher had spent in Manokotak. The figures include years spent as bilingual instructor or aide before certification.

Teacher Tenure at Manokotak

Years Taught	Number of Teachers
One year	1 Teacher (left at the end of the year)
Two years	5 Teachers (3 left at the end of the year and one left at the beginning of the 1984-85 year)
Three years	2 Teachers
Four years	1 Teacher
Five years	2 Teachers
Six years	1 Teacher
Seven years	1 Teacher

In 1977-78, there were nine teachers in the school. (The high school consisted of 9th and 10th grades only at that time.) Three teachers were first year teachers, and only one teacher had eight years of experience, with the other five teachers having between two and six years of experience. Their experience in rural Alaskan schools ranged from one year to six years. Four were in their first year in Manokotak, four were in their second year, and one teacher had been there for three years. Three were Alaska Natives. In comparing the information on teachers in 1983-84 with the information collected in 1977-78 for an earlier study, we found that the certificated teachers in 1983-84 were more experienced teachers, they had more experience in Alaskan rural teaching, and they had spent more years teaching in Manokotak.

Teaching Assignments

Almost all of the teachers were teaching in their areas of certification. Only one classroom teacher was teaching all classes at the secondary level without having secondary certification. However, six of the thirteen teachers were teaching in areas in addition to those in which they were certificated. For example, the science teacher was certificated to teach science but she also taught one class period each day in English and one in home economics.

Twelve of the thirteen certificated teachers were asked to describe the methods they used to present information to students. The teachers listed the following methods:

Lectures and direct instruction
Audio-visual materials including films, filmstrips, slides, overhead projectors, records, chalkboard, videotapes and television, pictures
Questioning
Demonstrations by teacher or other students
Hands-on experience
Examples
Small and large group discussions
Speakers other than the classroom teacher
Worksheets and workbooks
Puzzles, games, and contests
Computers
Small group and individual research, self-discovery
Students coaching or "teaching" classmates
Relating lessons to life experience
Reading
Field trips

All teachers reported using a variety of methods. No particular method emerged as more important than other methods. Most of the teachers reported assigning homework. Five said they assigned it regularly, two times a week or more. Six said they assigned homework sometimes, and one teacher reported that she never assigned homework. The teachers also reported using a variety of methods of discipline or classroom management with no consistent pattern emerging from their responses. Each teacher seemed to manage his or her classroom differently from the other teachers.

Only one teacher reported spending less than two hours a day in preparation for classes. The other teachers reported spending at least two hours a day in preparation. Estimates given of the number of hours spent outside of the school day in preparation ranged from "a lot" to "many extra hours."

All of the certificated teachers assumed responsibility for school-related activities in addition to their regular classroom teaching responsibilities. Most of these activities were voluntary on the part of the teachers. During interviews, teachers provided the following list of such activities:

Supervising students during the lunch hour
Advising cheerleaders
Advising pep club

Setting up Book Fair
Advising student council
Advising national honor society
Advising freshman, sophomore, junior, or senior class fund-raising activities
SRS District curriculum committee
NEA negotiating team
Supervising study hall after school and evenings
Teaching piano
Tutoring adults taking college level courses in the village
Coaching sports: boys' and girls' basketball, volleyball, running, wrestling -- including frequent travel for games
Traveling to chaperone girls' teams and cheerleaders
Coursework to complete or maintain certification
Teaching Adult Basic Education: computer class
Teaching Adult Basic Education: English as second language.

Elementary and middle school, grades one through eight, were combined in multigraded classrooms. First and second grades were in one room with one certificated teacher. Third, fourth, and fifth grades were in another room with a bilingual certificated teacher. Sixth, seventh, and eighth grades (the middle school) were in a third room with two team-teaching certificated teachers (one of whom was a bilingual "recognized expert"). Four bilingual aides assisted in these classrooms in addition to the special education, preschool, and library aides. The bilingual aides moved from one room to another during the day so that, in grades one through eight, students worked in small groups or individually with either a certificated teacher or an aide or a combination of the two.

One bilingual certificated teacher was responsible for kindergarten in the morning and preschool for three- and four-year-olds in the afternoon. She was assisted by a bilingual aide. Two of the elementary level certificated teachers, the certificated kindergarten and preschool teacher, and all of the aides were bilingual in Yup'ik and English so children at the preschool through middle school levels received instruction and assistance in both languages throughout the school day.

In some small, rural Alaskan high schools, teachers are assigned to teach two or three subjects in one room to small groups of students during a single class period, usually without the assistance of aides. While this practice makes it possible to offer a wide variety of courses to high school students, it often places an impossible burden on

teachers who are expected to prepare six or more classes daily. Unreasonable expectations for teachers to prepare can result in a reduction in the quality of instruction and in high teacher turnover rates and the end result may be that, even though students attend classes in a variety of content areas, they learn little about those areas.

In the Manokotak School, the Resource Room teacher and aide worked individually with students in different content areas, and some high school classes combined more than one level in the same subject area (Sewing I and II, Vocal Music I and II, or Typing I and II). However, only two teachers were expected to teach two or more different subjects within the same class period. Each of these teachers expressed the opinion that they could offer a better quality of instruction if they were to teach in only one content area each class period, but, by comparison with expectations in other rural schools, the expectations for multiple preparations by teachers in the Manokotak School were moderate.

Because the elementary and high schools in Manokotak were adjacent to each other and because they were under a single administrative structure, the resources of both schools could be used in either. Teachers in special areas such as music, industrial arts, science, special education, counseling, Yup'ik orthography, computer sciences, or physical education could and did teach in their areas in elementary, middle school, or high school. Eight teachers including the resource room teacher and aide were teaching at more than one level in the elmentary, middle school, and/or high school. One effect of this type of utilization of teaching resources was to provide students with an unusual degree of integration in their school program over the twelve-year period of schooling.

Other Instructional and Support Staff

In addition to the principal, certificated teachers, and itinerant support personnel from the District office, there were bilingual instructional aides, Indian Ed and JOM instructors and coordinator, maintenance personnel, and cooks who completed the Manokotak School staff. Three of the seven instructional aides were full-time, and four were part-time. All of the Indian Ed instructors, the Indian Ed/JOM coordinator, and the two cooks were part-time employees. The two maintenance men were full-time. All were Yup'ik-speaking residents of the local community.

The seven instructional aides were among the most experienced members of the school staff. One of the aides

had three and a half years of experience as an aide, but the other six each had more than ten years of experience as instructional aide. Two of the aides had completed the eighth grade, four had completed high school either by graduating with a diploma or by passing the GED examinations, and one had a Bachelor's degree in Education.

All but one of the aides had additional training through a series of workshops over a period of years. Most of the aides also reported that they had learned to teach by working with competent teachers in the classroom. As in other rural Alaskan schools, the workshops and training by certificated teachers had provided the aides with a body of training well beyond that which might be indicated by the number of years they had completed in formal schooling. Certificated teachers relied upon aides to prepare instruction independently as well as working under the direction of the teacher.

Maintenance personnel and cooks had attended training workshops. (Visitors to the school reported that the school lunches were excellent.) The Indian Ed instructors relied upon traditional Yup'ik methods of teaching. Indian Ed classes for women and girls were held in the school, but the classes for men and boys were held in the old church building.

CHAPTER 5

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE SCHOOL

Community Members' Perceptions about the School

As a first step in determining how participants in the Manokotak School setting viewed their school, a survey was conducted in the community. Two Yup'ik-speaking local residents attempted to contact all adult villagers -- a total of 177 people. Adults responded on a voluntary basis.

One hundred fifteen adults, 65 percent of the adult population, agreed to answer questions and offer opinions about the success of the school. Of those who declined to comment, 19 percent stated they had no interest or didn't know much about the school, 5 percent were out of town, and 11 percent could not be contacted for various other reasons.

Out of the 115 adults who agreed to respond, 108 or 94 percent stated that they felt the school was successful. Of the other 6 percent, most stated they did not know enough about the school to say and only one person said definitely that the school was unsuccessful.

Community members were asked what it was about the school that made it successful. Their responses are shown below:

What Do You Think Makes a Successful School?

Combination of teachers, principal, staff, CSC, and parents	50%
Required classes and hard work	19%
Students' attitudes	8%
Bilingual program	5%
Don't know	6%
Other	12%

The most interesting point here is the perception by community members of the blend of parents, teachers and staff, and curriculum needed in order to have a successful school.

Responses to another question in the survey pointed out that, in the perception of community members, school had a definite role to perform for the students. Responses to the question, "What is the school doing for the students?" are shown on the next page:

What is the School Doing for the Students?

Gives knowledge (learning, studying, explaining, understanding)	70%
Teaches English	12%
Operates bilingual program	10%
Other	8%

The survey supported the idea that the village wished their children to become knowledgeable students of both Western and Yup'ik worlds in order to be successful adults later in life.

An overwhelming 99 percent of the villagers involved in the survey said that a high school education was important. And, when asked if they thought it was important to have a high school in their community, 93 percent said a definite yes. Most of the answers went on to state that village high schools allowed the children to live at home in an environment that protected them from becoming influenced by bad habits such as drinking and drugs while they were still young. They felt a school in their own cultural setting was less stressful and therefore more successful.

Villagers were asked their opinions of what makes a good teacher, and their responses are shown below:

What Makes a Good Teacher?

Kind or understanding toward students	29%
Willingness to teach and knows subject matter	25%
Ability to keep discipline in classroom	7%
College training	5%
Don't know	8%
Other	26%

Many who responded to the survey stated that they had no suggestions to make the school program better, but 13 percent stated that they wanted more classes taught if possible. Although rural schools are often limited by the number of teachers and classroom sizes, a wider variety of classes or possibly a yearly alternating of electives offered would better suit some members of the community. At the time of this study, the District had asked each school for a four-year plan describing alternating electives to be offered in each school in each of the four years.

Teachers' Perceptions about the School

Perceptions about a Successful School

In general, the teachers saw the school staff, administration, and community as working together so that children would learn. This general theme was evident in their responses to a number of interview questions. One question was: "From whom do you receive support as a teacher?" The teachers' responses are shown below. (Some teachers named more than one source of support.)

From Whom Do You Receive Support as a Teacher?

	No. of Teachers
Principal	9
Other teachers	8
Parents/community members	5
District office	4
Family	4
Aides	3
Students	2
Other	3

Teachers were also asked: "What do you think makes a successful school?" Summaries of the responses from the thirteen teachers follow.

What Do You Think Makes a Successful School?

> Teachers who are dedicated to kids and forget about all the other petty adult things that go on... People working together as a team to accomplish the major goal -- kids growing into adults.

> Attitude to a large extent -- teachers, parents, students, etc., administration... Enthusiasm on the part of everybody... Caring for other people... Willing to spend extra time...

> We are educating them without conflicting with their own culture or taking away from their own culture.

> Can't relate it to any one thing... If a teacher is happy doing the job they like... Students that really want to learn...interested, not just here because their parents shove them out the door... Many things make a success -- workers here, the custodians, administration. We would be hurting without any single part of it. Our little local CSC and District Board.
>
> Students and teachers working together and communicating well.
>
> Like the staff working together as a team with the principal included... If everybody works together, you get a total educational experience for the kid.

To summarize the teachers' statements, 12 of the 13 teachers defined a successful school as a school where people from different groups worked together. Not only were the teachers highly consistent in their responses within their own group, their responses were consistent with those given by members of the community to a similar question. In the survey described on p. 59, a large percentage of the adults in the village described their school as successful because of a combination of teachers, principal, staff, CSC, and parents.

Interestingly, a Yup'ik educator in another part of the state made a similar statement in describing the Yup'ik view of a successful school:

> The students, parents, and teachers must work together. This process must be in accordance with the concept, 'llakutneq.' As long as students, parents, and teachers are able to relate to one another as 'llakukut,' school problems and other social concerns can be overcome and the school will prosper (Pavilla 1982:4).

The degree of consistency in the responses of the Manokotak teachers seems unusual. Since there was nothing in the selection procedures used by the District to indicate that teachers were selected for this school because they defined a successful school in a consistent fashion, socialization in the school setting may explain how the teachers came to view the school as they did. Those teachers and aides who had been in Manokotak for the longest time were the Yup'ik-speaking Natives of the community. It may be that, as new

teachers entered the setting each year, the Yup'ik staff and the returning non-Native staff members taught the new teachers how to view success in their school (cf. Harrison 1984).

After each teacher had provided his or her definition of a successful school, the teacher was asked if he or she thought the Manokotak School was a successful school. Eleven teachers responded with an unqualified "yes." One teacher said it was successful in some areas, and one said the school was trying to achieve success.

When teachers were asked what they were doing that they felt worked especially well, they identified the school store, the newspaper, the computer science classes (including the Adult Basic Education class in computer science), the library program, the bilingual program, athletics, and the Indian Ed/JOM Programs. Nine teachers felt that they had made a contribution to the development of the school program in his or her own particular teaching specialization.

Perceptions about Evaluation of Student Achievement

Because standardized achievement test scores are often the major means used to assess the effectiveness of schooling in the mainstream United States, the teachers were asked their opinion about the use of these tests in Manokotak. In response to the question, "Do standardized test scores accurately reflect actual achievement?," teachers responded as follows:

Do Standardized Test Scores Reflect Actual Achievement?

•	No. of teachers
Not in this setting	9
Reflect knowledge of English	2
Up to a point	1
Depends on individual	1

Five teachers felt that special tests should be designed to measure achievement in bilingual classrooms in rural Alaska. Some teachers felt very strongly that the use of standardized test scores to evaluate schools in rural Alaska was unfair. One teacher said:

> Rural education is getting a bum rap... I see concerned people who are working a lot of extra hours... The rural/urban split must have come about as divide and conquer... We

> wanted to develop a Yup'ik intelligence test and give it to the legislators...

Like teachers in other settings, teachers in Manokotak used a wide variety of measures -- formal and informal -- to determine what and how much their students were learning rather than relying on standardized achievement tests as the sole measure of a student's achievement. Twelve of the thirteen certificated teachers were asked: "How do you know that students are achieving?" In response, teachers identified the following measures they used:

- Completed assignments in class and homework
- Instructions understood
- Teacher-prepared written tests including pre- and post-testing, diagnostic tests, quizzes, comprehensive exams
- Evaluation of performance, either process or product, in art, graphics, industrial arts, music, athletics, laboratory science, term papers
- Evaluation based on attentiveness, punctuality, number of disruptions in class, number of absences
- Student participation in oral discussions
- Interpretation of students' facial expressions -- puzzlement, frustration, interest, nodding in agreement, etc.

Perceptions about the Mission of the High School

When teachers were asked what they thought the mission of the high school was, they gave a variety of responses. Eight responded that they thought the school should be helping students to develop their potential for the future. An example of this type of response was:

> To prepare young people to meet new challenges for Alaska. If we don't have them equipped with proper skills, they are not going to be able to take care of their part.

Five responded that the school should be helping students to learn to make choices. Teachers often seemed to have in mind making choices between living adult lives in the village or living in settings outside the village. An example of this type of response was:

> To prepare kids to make the choice of following their ancestors or going to college.

At some point in their response, six of the teachers mentioned preparation for postsecondary training or

education as one goal of the school. However, preparation for postsecondary training or education was not the only goal of the high school perceived by teachers. In general, teachers were concerned about their students developing into adults who would be successful in their own terms.

Perceptions about Problems

Although teachers felt their school was successful, they were also aware of problems. One question in the interview schedule asked for their perceptions of the problems of the school, but teachers mentioned problems at other points in the interviews, too. Teachers discussed more than fifty different problems with the interviewer. Most problems that the teachers identified had to do with the actual process of schooling, but some problems were related to the teacher's personal life in the village.

The following is a summary of the problems that were mentioned by more than one teacher:

Possible cutbacks on staff because of an expected drop in student population in the 1984-85 school year.

Too little classroom space as the result of increased student population over the last ten years.

Teaching two or more classes during the same period.

Lack of options in the village for kids after high school, such as postsecondary programs and youth organizations.

Lack of vocational courses and electives available.

Lack of opportunities for greater professional growth for teachers.

Lack of opportunity for training in the Yup'ik language and culture for teachers.

Too little time spent on teaching the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act to students.

All other school-related problems were mentioned by no more than one teacher. Perception of these problems apparently was not shared by the group. Other school-related problems

mentioned by teachers included such problems as the amount of time needed to acquire materials and supplies; lack of support from the District Office; and insufficient time for preparation. Although teachers had a great many problems on their minds, no one mentioned any current problems with student discipline, other teachers, or parents.

Most of the problems related to the teachers' personal lives in the village were mentioned by teachers who intended to leave at the end of the 1983-84 school year. These teachers mentioned such difficulties as a lack of privacy, being unable to own one's own home in the village, difficulties in understanding village life (including village church life), and lack of urban amenities. Apparently, teachers who left after one or two years had greater difficulty adjusting their personal lives to life in the village than did teachers who remained for longer periods of time.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Summary

The purpose of this study was to describe one rural Alaskan school, as perceived by participants in that school. This study was undertaken by a team consisting of one University of Alaska faculty member, two teachers in the Manokotak School, the Speech and Language Specialist for the Southwest Region School District, and two Yup'ik-speaking residents of Manokotak. The team set about describing the history and activities of the school as completely as possible including perceptions about the school by adults in the community, school personnel, and students.

The village of Manokotak is relatively new. It was established in 1947 when Evon Minista settled at the present site, and others came from the surrounding countryside. The establishment of a church, health care services, and school drew a continually increasing population to the village.

By 1984, people in Manokotak had integrated many aspects of Western culture into their way of life, but their language, values, and traditional economic lifestyle of hunting, fishing and gathering continued in the distinctively Yup'ik tradition. In addition to a few local jobs, commercial fishing of salmon and herring provided cash income for the community. However, the community continued to depend upon hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering food from the land for its year-round livelihood. Yup'ik residents governed the community through the village council, village corporation, and the church Board of Elders.

Julia Beaver, the Yup'ik wife of the first lay pastor, William Beaver, began teaching in the village in 1948. Mrs. Beaver provided the first opportunity for young children of the community to acquire Western education.

A government school was established in 1958 at the request of the community. A close and continuing working relationship between the church and the school was initiated when the school was established in 1958. By 1984, the two-room, two-teacher school originally constructed in 1958 had expanded to include all grade levels from preschool through high school for 117 students with a certificated staff of 13 teachers and a principal. The Community School Committee, composed of five locally-elected residents, had an active role in the governance of the school.

The school had joined the Southwest Region School District when that Regional Education Attendance Area was established in 1976. In 1979, the SRS began a District-wide curriculum development process which involved teachers, REAA board and CSC members, parents, students, principals, and the bilingual coordinator for the District as well as other representatives of the District Office. By 1984, District-wide curriculum plans had been developed in a number of content areas and more curriculum plans were in the process of development.

The elementary and high school buildings were adjacent and were under a single administrative structure. As a result, teachers were able to teach in their content areas in elementary, middle school, and/or high school so instructional resources could be utilized at all three levels.

In addition to the formal curriculum, the school provided a fairly wide variety of special and extracurricular programs, including a bilingual program declared exemplary by the Alaska State Department of Education. The bilingual program integrated instruction in both Yup'ik and English throughout the elementary and middle school day. The bilingual program was made possible by the presence of Yup'ik-speaking aides and certificated teachers in the elementary and middle school classrooms. Extracurricular programs were made possible by teachers who volunteered many after school and weekend hours to these programs.

During the 1970s, the turnover rate of teachers and principals was high, but, by 1984, a stable and experienced staff had begun to develop. The bilingual program, established in 1971, brought Yup'ik-speaking residents of the local community into the classrooms as bilingual instructors. As a result, nearly all of the aides who worked in the school in 1984 had more than 10 years of experience in the classroom. The SRS provided financial support for the Cross-Cultural Education Development Program (X-CED) of the University of Alaska-Fairbanks, and some local residents of the community graduated from this program and from other college programs during the 1970s. Four graduates who were local residents joined the certificated teaching staff in the school. Housing for teachers improved and the District began to search for teachers with rural teaching experience. As a result, non-Native teachers began to return to the village for more than a year or two.

In a survey taken during the spring of 1984, the majority of adults in the community and students in the high school said that they felt their school was successful. A large

percentage of the adults in the community felt that the school was successful because of a combination of teachers, principal, staff, CSC, and parents. Nearly all of those who were interviewed felt that it was important to have a high school in their local community. When asked about good teachers, the largest percentages of responses were from those who said a good teacher was kind and understanding toward students and had a willingness to teach.

In the spring of 1984, the teachers and principal were asked about their perceptions of the school. Nearly all felt that their school was successful -- because the principal, teachers, parents, and students worked together to make it successful. Nearly all the certificated staff felt that standardized test scores which were low by comparison with scores in urban schools were inappropriate measures of school achievement in their bilingual community. The teachers and the principal viewed the goals of schooling in broad terms relating to the future lives of the students they were teaching. They wanted their students to grow into adults who would be successful in the students' own terms. The teachers also perceived a wide range of problems still to be solved in their school but their perceptions of problems were not shared in the same way that their views of successful schooling were shared.

Nearly all of the young people in the village participated in extracurricular and special programs while in high school. After graduation, some proceeded into postsecondary programs while others remained in the village. Within a few years, most graduates of the Manokotak School moved into stable adult roles which were viewed as appropriate by other members of their community.

Discussion

Continuity of Educational Experiences

We know that schooling is related to social change in modernizing societies. Spindler has described the way schooling can create difficulties between young people and their parents in modernizing societies and the way schooling can create new and sometimes unrealistic expectations for young people in those societies (Spindler 1974). In Manokotak, however, school personnel adapted the schooling process to the values and traditions of the local community in order to provide continuity between formal educational experiences in the school and informal educational experiences in the community.

When the school was established in Manokotak in 1958, a pattern of cooperation between the school and the community was established. School personnel designed the school program so as to accommodate the values and traditions of the community, including the community's church. Of course, the primary emphasis of the school program was on the transmission of Western skills such as reading and writing in English, and the structure of the high school (with 50-minute periods assigned for instruction in particular content areas) was much like any other high school in the United States. However, school personnel intended that graduates of the school be skilled in both English-speaking and Yup'ik worlds, and they adapted the school program accordingly.

The end result has been a high degree of continuity in the educational experiences of the children of Manokotak in formal and informal educational experiences. Ever since the BIA school was established in 1958, nearly all students from Manokotak completed high school even when they had to travel to boarding high schools in order to attend. Students from Manokotak generally assumed roles viewed as appropriate in their own community following high school graduation. This high completion rate and assumption of appropriate adult roles in the community provides evidence of the continuity of educational experiences for children in the community. Continuity between formal and informal educational experiences has contributed to producing the generation of young adults who were viewed as successful in their own terms in the spring of 1984.

One major factor contributing to the continuity between the school and community educational experiences for children has been the participation by Yup'ik adults in the process of formal schooling. Nearly all of the elmentary teachers, aides, and support staff were bilingual adults from the local community. These adults provided role models for the children and they provided instruction in both English and Yup'ik in and out of the classroom. In addition, they helped to explain schooling to other adults in the community and they helped to socialize new teachers and principals to Yup'ik values and culture. The socialization provided for new certificated staff by the Yup'ik staff may help to explain the high degree of consistency among teachers when they expressed their views of a successful school and in their views of the mission of the school in Manokotak. The Yup'ik staff also provided the school with a core staff that remained year after year while others came and went.

The high representation of local residents among the school staff was the result of three different programs. First of

these programs was the bilingual program which began in 1971. As the result of the bilingual program, local residents entered classrooms as bilingual instructors and aides. The second was the support provided by the SRS District to the field-based Cross-Cultural Education Development Program (X-CED) of the University of Alaska. As the result of the efforts of the District and X-CED, local residents were able to obtain Type A certification while they remained in their community, often working as classroom aides while they pursued Bachelor's degrees. The third program contributing to the high representation of local residents in the school was the Indian Ed/JOM program which employed local residents to teach traditional Yup'ik skills in school.

In addition to the Yup'ik staff, parents attended meetings and conferences requested by school personnel and teachers occasionally visited parents at home. Community members served as instructors in the Indian Ed/JOM Program. The Community School Committee played an active role in advising the principal and in approving school activities. Adult members of the community utilized the resources of the school in the Adult Basic Education computer sciences and English as Second Language classes, they used the school library and school store, and they participated in athletic and other special events. Community members demonstrated a strong interest in the education of their children and parents have apparently encouraged their children to complete at least a high school education dating from when the school was first established.

At the same time, non-Native teachers contributed to the continuity in educational experiences for their students by volunteering for a wide range of extracurricular and special program activities. They demonstrated their concern for their students by the many after-school and weekend hours they spent with students in these activities. These activities provided students and teachers with opportunities to develop personal relationships outside the classroom and to reinforce classroom learning in informal settings.

Achievement Test Scores

Standardized achievement test scores had become a major concern for school personnel at the time of this study. Achievement test scores of children in Manokotak were comparable to scores in other rural areas of Alaska, but they were lower than scores of children in urban schools. When these scores are interpreted, it is important to consider that testing conditions in rural schools can be quite different from testing conditions in urban schools.

One outside observer reported power failures, problems with heating, repeated "buzzing" of the school by arriving airplanes, and weather-related delays in scheduled testing, all occurring during one testing session in the spring of 1984. In addition, of course, students take the English language tests in their second language rather than in their first language as most urban students do.

The curriculum of the Manokotak School and the district was developed with considerable local input over an extended period of time. This curriculum was only partially directed toward the type of learning measured by achievement tests. The travel programs, for example, were intended to prepare students to interact effectively with the world outside of their local community. An underlying assumption was that effective action must be learned through experience rather than in classrooms or from textbooks. The learning that occurred as the result of the travel programs was not necessarily measured on a standardized achievement test but a considerable portion of the time students spent in school was devoted to learning through travel experience.

A similar statement can be made with respect to the bilingual program. Because instruction in Yup'ik was integrated into the school day, a considerable portion of the school day in Manokotak was devoted to study in the students' native language but standardized achievement tests did not assess achievement in Yup'ik.

The participants in the school in Manokotak were attempting to achieve some of the same goals that participants in urban schools pursue. For example, teachers intended that students prepare for postsecondary training. But participants were also trying to achieve some goals that were quite different from the goals in urban schools. For example, urban schools do not generally need to devote a substantial part of their curriculum to teaching students to function in the world outside of the local community. It seems unreasonable to expect one standardized measure to assess the effectiveness of schools when the goals of the schools are not the same. An increased emphasis on standardized achievement test scores may have the unintended consequence of altering the goals and curriculum of the school to fit the tests. If this type of change were to occur, locally-developed goals and curriculum might be sacrificed in the process.

The problems with standardized testing in Manokotak were related to the same concerns being expressed nationally. Recently, Finn pointed to some of the dangers of imposing national uniformity on schools (Finn 1984). In his view,

imposed uniformity would result in the reduction of services in some schools and uniformity might not have the desired effect of improving services in others. Resnick and Resnick have also called attention to the need for new forms of assessment of achievement other than standardized tests:

> However, the fact that the tests are not linked to any individual school's curriculum means that students are not able to study for them directly. As a result, most of our present testing programs are poor instruments for improvement or maintenance of standards... Examinations coupled with publicized syllabi should guide the preparation of students in various subjects (1985:17).

Continuing Development

As we noted in the opening paragraph of this report, schools in rural Alaska have been developing continuously since they were initially established in the 18th and 19th centuries and there is every reason to expect the school in Manokotak to continue in its development. We have provided a description of the school at a single point in time, the spring semester 1984, but changes can be expected in the future. Parents, teachers, and students felt their school was successful, but they were also aware of problems still to be solved.

We cannot be certain, of course, of the directions that future development of the Manokotak School will take, but we can describe ideas and influences within the school, the District, and the State which may eventually affect the Manokotak School. In the following paragraphs, we describe some ideas and developing programs that may have an impact on the Manokotak School in the future.

Extending Options

Parents, teachers, and students felt that it was important for Manokotak to have a high school in the local community, but a percentage of those who responded from each group expressed concern about the limited range of options available in the village, both for students in high school and for young people after high school graduation. Although we will discuss some of the possible plans which might be used to extend the range of options in the high school, we do so with some hesitation. In the Manokotak School, resources were already well utilized at the time of this study and the available options had already been greatly extended by the volunteer programs in which the teachers

participated. It simply may not be possible to stretch the existing resources any further. In addition, emphasis in the program of a small school might best be placed on the teaching and learning of processes and skills needed for adult life in the 21st century rather than upon the acquisition of a little knowledge in a wide variety of content areas. Given these qualifications, however, participants who were concerned about extending the range of options available in the Manokotak High School might consider the following approaches.

At the time of this study, SRS had requested each school to prepare and submit to the District a schedule of alternating electives in a four-year sequence. The purpose of the District's request was to assure that elective courses would be offered sequentially and in as wide a range as possible.

A "mini-course" program designed for seventh and eighth graders was used during the 1980-81 school year in Manokotak. This mini-series was developed to initiate the students into high school courses and to satisfy the students' urge to "be part of the older crowd." Students were divided into four groups and there were four mini-courses offered. Each ran for nine weeks, and then the groups switched to the next mini-course. Teachers felt that the mini-courses worked well.

One teacher has suggested that, if each high school class period were shortened by a few minutes, an extra period each day could be devoted to mini-courses in a variety of content areas for high school students. If the school were to undertake a trial mini-course program for high school students, caution would be needed, because such a program would require additional preparation time from teachers who already have heavy work loads.

A "block time" scheduling system has been used in other rural schools and, in Manokotak, this system might be combined with the mini-course approach. Students would take two- to three-hour blocks of time for subjects on alternate days. This would allow more extensive unit and research studies and would also accustom students to future college classes and college scheduling. Teachers would have fewer preparations each day so that time might be devoted to the development of new mini-courses.

Additional recommendations for the design of small high school programs for rural Alaska are contained in the report by Barnhardt, et al., 1979.

Land and Resource Management Curricula

A curriculum development project under way at the time of this study in the Bristol Bay region may eventually affect the Manokotak School. A University of Alaska faculty member, Jerry Lipka, and his assistant, Cristy Willer, have been developing curricula for several grade levels with an emphasis on land and resource management under the terms of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in the Bristol Bay region. The new curricula were being pilot tested in other schools in the District at the time of this study.

Youth Programs

For young people after high school, the recreation center under construction at the time of this study will provide some new options. There were no plans for a complete program of recreation and community service for young people, but the Chevak Village Youth Association has provided a model of such a program in another part of the state (McDiarmid 1981) and that model may eventually find its way to Manokotak.

Rural Development Program

A new field-based program in Rural Development from the University of Alaska-Fairbanks was in its initial stages in the Bristol Bay region at the time of this study. Eventually, this program should provide young people with the opportunity to complete coursework in Manokotak leading to a Bachelor's degree with an emphasis on economic and social development in the community.

Preparation for College

There is also reason to believe that more students from Manokotak will complete degrees at the University of Alaska. Two recent high school graduates from the community completed the spring semester 1984 in Fairbanks, and they planned to return in the fall. As other recent high school graduates from the community join these two, a support group may develop to help ease the transition for new students arriving from the village. Rural Student Services at the University provides support services for new students from rural areas and new programs -- such as the Summer Honors Institute for rural students -- will also help to provide better preparation for young people in the future. Travel to the campuses for orientation and summer programs for high school students can help students adjust to the new social life of college.

School personnel in rural as well as urban settings must help students to set realistic goals. For example, if young people are encouraged to attend college, then the school has an obligation to see that they are adequately prepared for college, both socially and with respect to academic skills. Encouraging students to attend college when they are not adequately prepared can only result in failure with negative psychological consequences for the individual student.

In the past two years, the Manokotak school has placed an emphasis on improving reading comprehension so that students will be better prepared for postsecondary education in the future. In addition, students who intend to go to college might be identified at the beginning of the senior year and an emphasis might be placed on "college survival" for those students. College-bound students from any high school need to learn the following skills in addition to preparation in content areas:

- Writing term papers
- Studying independently
- Approaching new content areas
- Taking timed multiple choice and true/false tests under pressure
- Lecture note taking
- Values clarification and where to go for help when problems occur
- Dealing with bureaucracies (especially registration and financial aid)
- Surviving in a city
- Handling social relations with peers and with college professors
- Handling personal finances

Not all young people of the village need to have all of these skills, but those students who attend college need them if they are to succeed. Instruction in these skills can be integrated into senior level coursework in any rural high school for students who plan to attend college.

There are options for appropriate roles in both the mainstream society and in rural Native communities which do not depend upon college training and students need to have those options presented to them, too. In addition, school personnel must be sure that any program they design helps to build positive identities for each and every student and they need to be certain that new programs and emphasis on postsecondary training do not create discontinuities in the education of young people in rural communities.

This case study of the Manokotak School describes one example of the development of a rural Alaskan school over time. Eight years passed between the time of the establishment of the Regional Education Attendance Areas and the time of this study, and the Manokotak School underwent considerable change during that time. This school can be expected to continue in its development in the future as it has in the past.

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